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MEMOIRS

OF

ANDREW JACKSON,

MAJOR-GENERAL

IN THE ARMY OF THE

UNITED STATES;

AND

COMMANDER IN CHIEF

OF THE

DIVISION OF THE SOUTH.

BY S. PUTNAM WALDO, Esq.

Compiler of "*Robbins' Journal*," and Author of the "*President's Tour*."

HARTFORD:
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DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, SS.

L. S. BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-ninth day of September, in the forty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, John Russell, jun. of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof, he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit,—"Memoirs of Andrew Jackson, Major-General in the army of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Division of the South, by S. Putnam Waldo, Esq. Compiler of "Robbins' Journal," and Author of the "President's Tour." In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."

R. I. INGERSOLL.
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,

R. I. INGERSOLL.
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

ERRATA.

The following errors, the reader is requested to correct, previous to perusal.

PAGE.	LINE.	
24	8	for *Scotchmen*, read *Scotsmen.*
39	20	for *intrinsic*, read *extrinsic.*
49	24	omit the word *fell.*
151	8	for *minuets*, read *minutes.*
162	9	for *promtness*, read *promptness.*

To the OFFICERS and SOLDIERS
OF THE
AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

GALLANT COUNTRYMEN:—

WITH that frankness, which in your profession is a distinguishing characteristic, I offer this Volume to you, without apology. The fame of the Exalted Chief, who is the subject of it, however imperfectly his *civil* and *military* character may be portrayed, will, I am confident, entitle it to a favourable reception from you.

With admiration for
your gallant achievements,
I am your Ob't. Serv't.
S. PUTNAM WALDO.

TO THE READER.

THE high estimation in which Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson, is justly holden by his countrymen, was the inducement to present them with the following Memoirs of his Life. Ever since his name became identified with the glory of his country, the author has assiduously sought for the most authentic information relative to his origin, and his progress from humble life to his present elevation.

The *facts* relative to his parentage, his birth, education, and early pursuits, were derived from a Southern Correspondent, whose means of knowledge, entitle his communications to the character of absolute verity.

From the early entrance of Gen. Jackson into public life, and from the laudable propensity of Americans to preserve, in the various periodical journals, detached incidents of the lives of American Worthies, it needs only industry and research to collate them. The *manner* in which they are arranged, and the *style* in which they are detailed, depends wholly upon the author.

To give additional interest to the volume, a number of Gen. Jackson's Official Reports, and some selections from his numerous Letters, and Addresses are incorporated into the work. They not only give the most satisfactory account of the battles in which he fought, and the measures he pursued; but they show that he wields the pen of a Scholar, as well as the sword of a Soldier.

Apologies for the defects of the work, cannot remove them, and will not be attempted. It is therefore submitted to the indulgence of the reader by,

THE AUTHOR.

Hartford, (Conn.) Oct. 1818.

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INTRODUCTION.

Adoption of American Constitution—Pursuits of Americans—Diminution of Military ardour—Declaration of War—Militia—Volunteers—Regular Troops--Andrew Jackson.

FROM the conclusion of the War for American Independence, to the commencement of that war which secured it, the Americans were almost wholly diverted from the study of military tactics, and no opportunity had occurred to call into operation the military science acquired in the revolutionary struggle. The mild arts of peace were substituted for the ruthless carnage of war ; and a rising people, who had severed the ligament that bound them to an European monarch, commenced the enjoyment of self-government.

To organize a Republic, consisting of a confederacy of a number of distinct governments, having different, and in some respects contending interests, was a task which required, and called forth the science and the energies of the first statesmen which the world had produced.

Upon the conclusion of that war, the people of the American Republic, as it regarded a form of government, were "*in a state of nature.*" Destitute of a government of their own making, they had before them the lights of antiquity, and the practical knowledge of modern ages. With the scrutinizing research of statesmen, and the calm deliberation of philosophers, they proceeded to establish a constitution of Civil Government, as the supreme law of the land. The establishment of this constitution is, perhaps, without a parallel in the history of the civilized world. It was not the unresisted mandate of a successful usurper, nor was it a government imposed upon the people by a victorious army. It was digested by profound statesmen, who aimed to secure all the rights of the people who had acquired them, by their toil, their courage, and their patriotism. They aimed also to give to the government, sufficient energy to command respect.

To the *people* of the American Republic, a constitution was presented for *their* deliberation, and for *their* adoption. It was adopted, not with entire unanimity, but by a majority of the people, sufficiently respectable to give its operation a promising commencement. The people, having emancipated themselves from the power of a British monarch—having successfully resisted his lords and his commons, looked with jealousy upon those who were called to the exercise of the power which they had themselves delegated to their own countrymen. The excellency of the constitution was tested by the practical application of its principles; and the patriotism and integrity, of all the early officers who derived their power from it, were acknowledged by their admiring countrymen.

The people, having witnessed the establishment of a republican government, of their own choice, relapsed from the energetic character of republican soldiers, to the more gentle ones of agriculturalists, merchants, and mechanics.

Agriculturalists found a capacious field for the exercise of their pursuits in the widely extended and fertile regions of the Republic. Land speculation became the business of the few, who had adequate funds, and the conversion of the wilderness into fertile fields, the pursuits of those who had industry and enterprise.

The *Merchants* found a world before them as the theatre upon which *their* energies were to be exerted. Enjoying peace with all nations, while other nations were contending with each other for dominion or wealth, the merchants of the Republic became the *carriers* for the commercial world. Into their employ they drew thousands of their countrymen, and soon rendered the American States the second nation in the world, in point of *commercial* consequence.

Manufacturers began to struggle for the rank which they hold in many of the countries in the old world. It was long an ineffectual struggle— But as the "*restrictive system*" was deemed necessary from the unceasing encroachments of European governments upon the commercial rights of America, they rapidly advanced in wealth, and gave employ to a numerous class of citizens.

These three great objects of pursuit, embraced the whole American people, if we except those of the learned professions. These employments were all calculated to divert attention from military tactics, and to confine it rather to the accumulation of wealth, than to the advancement of national glory, by military achievements. In addition to this, the very nature of the American Constitution, was calculated to repress military ardour, being more calculated to make happy *citizens*, than renowned *soldiers*. The surviving patriots of the revolution were following each other in rapid succession to the tomb, and the rising youth of America were seldom aroused to patriotism by the tales of the revolutionary contest.

Sudden wealth was the result of the exertions of the different classes of Americans. The voluptuousness and effeminacy usually an attendant upon the possession of it, was rapidly diminishing that exalted sense of national glory, for which the *Saxons*, the ancient stock from which Americans and Englishmen trace their origin, were always celebrated.

As the collisions between the American Republic, and the British empire, began to assume an hostile aspect, frequent *negociations* were commenced, and as often terminated in widening the breach between the two governments.

The murder of *Pierce*, by order of a British naval officer, although, from the tranquilized, and almost paralized state of public feeling, it did not excite the same indignation as the massacre of Boston citizens, by British troops, before the revolutionary war, yet it was no less an outrage upon humanity and national dignity than *that* barbarous deed.

The constant impressment of American seamen, although in its character a less sanguinary violation of national and individual rights, was a more widely extended injury. "The social body is oppressed, when one of its members is oppressed." *That* nation can hardly be said to be independent, who will acquiesce in an injury committed upon *one* of its citizens by *another* nation. It was an aphorism of the great Hollander, De Witt—"*That no independent nation ought tamely to submit to a breach of equity and justice, from another, however unequal the powers.*"* Although an injury to *individuals*, is an injury to the nation; yet, in the attack upon the *Chesapeake*, a national vessel, the national dignity was directly insulted. To impress seamen from an U. S. frigate, belonging to an infant navy, whose gallantry in the Mediterranean, had excited the admiration, and even the jealousy of Nelson, produced a ferment in the American Republic which could never subside until ample reparation was obtained.

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* History of Holland.

The Orders in Council—new and unauthorised principles of *blockade*, and an invasion of the rights of *neutrals*, added to the other injuries mentioned, and to which might be added many more, compelled the great council of the Republic to resort to measures more efficient than *non-intercourse*, *embargoes*, and *negociations*.

Facts will justify the assertion, that upon the momentous question whether *War* or *Submission* should be resorted to by America, the American people where divided in opinion ; and this division of opinion was ascertained by a knowledge of the two great political parties in the Republic. The Republican party exclaimed, with an ancient Roman, " *Our voice is still for War.*" The Federal party, with another Roman, exclaimed, " *Our thoughts, we must confess, are turned to Peace.*"

The justice, necessity, or expediency of the second war between the American Republic and the Kingdom of Great Britain, cannot be discussed in this place ; and it might be deemed arrogance to attempt it at all, at this period of time. The authorities who alone had power " *to declare War*," made the declaration ; and to the American people were they responsible for the great and important measure.

It may not be inapposite to remark in this place, that a *systematic* opposition to government is unknown in every part of the civilized world, excepting in America and in England. This does not arise from any deficiency of national feeling; for no two nations on earth are more devoted to national glory than Americans and Englishmen; but it arises from that jealousy which intelligence and an exalted sense of liberty always produces in the *governed* towards their *governours*. Having one common origin, but no longer any common interest, let the citizens of the American Republic, and the subjects of the British Monarch, judge for themselves which government most consults the happiness of the people, and upon which side of the Atlantic the greatest freedom is enjoyed.

Until the declaration of the last war, the energy of the American constitution had never been tested. Under its benign influence the people had suddenly arisen, from infancy to manhood—from vassalage to freedom—from national penury to national wealth. Its provisions were found abundantly adequate for the government of a great and growing people in a state of *peace*. The jealousy or the fears of the framers of this inimitable compact, had restricted the *military* power. It permitted the Captain-general of the militia of the United States, after proper advice to call them into action, to "*execute the laws of* *the union—suppress insurrections—and repel invasions ;*" and even this limited power became the subject of animated discussion.

At the commencement of the war, we had nothing that gave any idea of a *Standing Army.* Six thousand troops dispersed over a country, half that number of miles in length and in width, presented nothing but a fractured skeleton of an army. The *American militia,* although perhaps the best in the world, were organized by the different states ; from the different state governments derived their authority, and had different attachments and different interests. An hundred thousand of them were drafted by the national authority to hold themselves in readiness to take the field at a moment's warning. But the history of modern tactics shows that the trade of war is not learned in a moment. Fifty thousand *Volunteers* were invited to enrol themselves for the public defence ; but the amount and efficiency of this species of force depended upon the opinion of the people in regard to the justice of the war, and of the rectitude of the administration. *Enlistments,* from which alone an efficient army, for any considerable length of time can be produced, were authorised. In some sections of the country, the best blood in them was aroused to patriotism, and the most distinguished citizens flew to the standard of the Republic. In others, it was considered a disgrace to aid, either by *men* or *money*, what was openly pronounced to be an "*unjust, unnatural, wicked, and cruel war*."

From such discordant materials, was the American army of 1812, and 1813, composed. Although the melancholy catalogue of disasters in the campaigns of those years, was occasionally gilded by achievements of resplendent glory; yet, until the commencement of the campaign of 1814, the American *armies* had added but few laurels to those acquired in the war of the revolution. A new era in the military history of America *then* commenced. As the gathering storm, which had, for two years, hung over what was deemed in Europe the devoted Republic of America, increased in darkness and horror, the character of the rising generation of Americans developed itself. A constellation of heroes suddenly arose and illuminated the hemisphere of the western world. They conquered generals who had become familiar with victory in the old world—secured for their country the independence acquired in the revolution, and for themselves, fame, as lasting as immortality.

Major General ANDREW JACKSON, the subject of the following MEMOIRS, deservedly holds a distinguished rank amongst the veteran officers of the American Republic, in the last war. But while almost every American is anxious to join his individual note, to the harmonious concord of applause bestowed upon this distinguished chieftain, few know the arduous toils, the severe privations, and the excessive fatigues, by which he acquired his fame. The writer will endeavour, in a manner as perspicuous as he is able, to do it; and from materials of unquestionable authenticity, to present the reader, in the following volume, a brief Biography of this American Hero. If the delineations will not be so minute as they might be in a more voluminous work, it is hoped the prominent features of this great man's life and character, in his civil and military career, will be presented in their proper light and shade.

MEMOIRS

OF

ANDREW JACKSON.

His family, birth, and early pursuits—Enters into the army of the Revolution—is captured by the British—resists an illegal order of a British officer—receives a wound, and is committed to goal—loses his surviving brother—his mother dies of grief—he completes his literary studies.

THE birth-places of statesmen, heroes, and poets, have often been subjects of historical investigation, and not unfrequently of warm dispute. Seven cities of Greece claimed the honour of giving birth to Homer. The birth of illustrious men certainly imparts a consequence to the places of their nativity; and oftentimes the only consequence they possess. An English *civilian* will visit the birth-place of Alfred—the *soldier* that of Marlborough—the *poet* those of Shakespeare and Milton. Americans, although comparatively a *new people*, can scarcely travel in any section of their extensive Republic, but they can point to the place where some of its great benefactors were born. The catalogue would swell the volume. Among the first *Statesmen* in the world, might be mentioned the members of the

Old Congress.—Among *Heroes*, the officers of the "Army of the Revolution."—Among *Poets*, a constellation of geniuses, to whom posterity will award the meed of praise.

No sooner had ANDREW JACKSON began to achieve those deeds of valour which furnished a sure presage of future eminence, than *Englishmen*, and *Scotchmen*, claimed him as a native-born *subject*. They once claimed Gen. Washington. *Irishmen* omitted to assert their claim to his nativity; but he was of Irish extraction, although born in America. His grandfather was one of the victims at the siege of *Carrickfergus*, in Ireland; and *all* his ancestors, being among the humbler classes of Irishmen, endured the sufferings which that ill-fated and oppressed people have long endured from some of the Irish nobility, born in the bosom of that country; and from English noblemen sent there to govern them.

His father, Andrew Jackson, emigrated to America with his wife and two sons in the year 1765. Desirous that his rising family should escape from the oppression of the English government in Europe, he came to this country as an asylum from the rod of abused power. He landed at Charleston in the state of South Carolina, and soon after established himself at a settlement formerly called *Waxsaw*, now the district of Marion.

His youngest son and the subject of these Memoirs, was born at that place upon the 15th March

1767. He began to anticipate a happy close to the evening of his days, in his own domestic circle, in a land of freedom. But before the British government commenced the same systematic oppression of their subjects in their *American* colonies, as they long had exercised over its subjects in *Ireland*, death removed him from the storm, which soon after began to hang over *them*. He left an unprotected wife and three young children to endure the buffettings of it. He died at near the close of the year 1767.

His surviving children, *Hugh*, *Robert*, and *Andrew*, became the objects of the tender solicitude of their mother. Having a small patrimony left them, their mother with unceasing assiduity, endeavoured to procure for them the rudiments of an English education. Situated in a country where she could claim connection with no human being but her three sons ; the eldest but little advanced from infancy, and the youngest an infant, her situation required the highest exercise of female fortitude and vigilance. But having recently emigrated from a country where the *few* roll in splendour through life, and the *many* begin and end it amidst sufferings, she felt animated at the idea that she was in a country where the rod of the great, or what is worse, the rod of the petty tyrant, could not reach her or her offspring.

For a number of years, no event happened to disturb the tranquility of this venerable matron or her children. By the judicious management of a small estate, she was enabled to aid her sons in the prosecution of their studies. She omitted no opportunity to detail to them the tragical scenes through which their early ancestors had passed in Ireland, in the stubborn resistance they always maintained against oppression. The youthful reader of *history*, may be made to glow with indignation at the tales of oppression. But the most pathetic description of the historian, is tameness itself when compared with the *relations* of those who have themselves passed through the scenes of sufferings inflicted by dying man upon dying men. The narrations of Mrs. Jackson, must have aroused the feelings of her sons to the highest pitch of enthusiasm against the tyrants who had blasted the hopes, and destroyed the lives of their ancestors. She little thought, perhaps, while she was infusing into the tender bosoms of her sons the ardour of patriotism, that she would live to see two of them fall victims in its holy cause.

Hugh and *Robert*, not being designed for either of the learned professions, obtained no other education than what the common schools at that period afforded. Andrew, the youngest son, was, by his excellent mother, designed for the ministry. In the *Waxsaw* settlement, about forty miles from Camden, was established an academical institution, in which the learned languages, and the higher branches of education were taught. As the instructor of Andrew Jackson, if he be at this time in life, will rejoice in the celebrity of his pupil, it is but justice to remark that this academy, at the time he commenced his literary pursuits, afforded the best means of instruction in the section of the country in which he was born. The Preceptor of it was a Mr. *Humphries*, whose christian name is unknown to the writer. Under his tuition, the subject of these memoirs, having before enjoyed no other advantages than what the ordinary schools imparted, began the study of the classics. He here continued assiduously to pursue his studies, until the Vandal progress of the British armies, in the revolutionary war, brought them to that part of South Carolina in which the family of Jackson were situated.

Mrs. Jackson once more beheld the arm of British power uplifted in wrath over her adopted country, as she had before beheld it raised over the land of her nativity. The American forces were compelled, in that section of the country, to retreat before a power which they could not *then* resist. Her eldest son had before enrolled himself in the armies of the Republic, and lost his life in its cause at the battle of *Stono*. ANDREW had arrived to the age of fourteen years; and, with his surviving brother Robert, was impelled, by the exalted sentiments of liberty and independence which he had learned from his mother, to fly to the American standard.

The scanty details which are yet received of the revolutionary contest, deprives me of the pleasure of mentioning the regiment and the commander of it, in which Andrew Jackson commenced his military career at the early age of fourteen. Suffice it to say, that at that age, with his only brother, Robert, he entered into the American service; prepared, if such were the decrees of fate, to follow their elder brother into eternity in resisting tyrannical power. Effectual resistance, at that period, was impossible; and the slender forces of America, in *S. Carolina*, were compelled to retire before the formidable power of lord *Cornwallis* into the interior of *N. Carolina*. This confident representative of British power, finding no force at *that time* to resist him, left the country—leaving behind him the wide-spread tracks of desolation in every part of it. The once tranquil and happy settlers of *Waxsaw* returned to a place which was once a home. The deep marks of British rapacity were visible in every part of the settlement; and the effects of Vandal warfare were every where to be seen.

Lord *Rawdon* was in possession of *Camden*, and no sooner learned that the dispersed inhabitants of *Waxsaw* were again returned, than he availed himself of the assistance of American tories to complete their extirmination. A British major, by the name of *Coffin*, was the commander of this expedition. The inhabitants, who might all be said to belong to the forlorn hope, determined to make at least a shew of resistance. They assembled at the *Waxsaw* meeting-house, to which was attached the academy of Mr. Humphries, in which Andrew Jackson had devoted himself to literature. Here they awaited the augmentation of their force by the arrival of their friends, and the expected approach of the enemy. The hopes of this resolute and patriotic band of American heroes were elated at the distant approach of a body of citizens. At this period, the American troops could hardly be said to have had an *uniform*; but the well known insignia of the British troops enabled the people to designate them at sight. While the little phalanx of *Waxsaw*, expected to be joined by their friends, what was their astonishment when they found themselves surrounded by a ferocious clan of American tories, covered at a little distance by British dragoons? The conquest was an easy one—resistance would have been desperation.—Eleven of the Americans were captured, and the rest, among whom were Andrew Jackson and his brother, escaped, and concealed themselves in the adjoining forests.

Although this is no place for reflections, yet no opportunity should be unimproved to express the ineffable contempt and utter detestation in which the tories, in the revolutionary struggle, ought for ever to be holden. Had they merely joined the British standard through fear of its power, the an- might at least have been entitled to conte[illegible]ly, must pity; but when it is remembered that they imbrued their hands in the blood of their brethren, it would be a prostitution of charity to extend it to them.

The next day after this affair at the *Waxsaw* church, many of the wandering heroes who escaped from it, were captured by the British dragoons; and among them were Andrew Jackson and his brother Robert. Immediately after they were taken prisoners, an event took place which developed the future character of Jackson; and shewed, that though a boy, he gave the world "assurance of the man." A British officer, having in pursuit of prisoners soiled his boots, ordered him to clean them. Flushed with indignation at the command, he decidedly refused to obey, and demanded the treatment due to a prisoner of war. Enraged at what would have excited the admiration of a generous bosom, the officer, with a drawn sword, made a violent pass at Jackson's head. Destitute of any weapon of defence, he parried the stroke with his hand, in which he received a severe wound. Thus early in life did Jackson become a soldier of the Republic and an unalterable enemy of Britain. It will be seen in the sequel how essentially he has served the one, and how completely he has avenged the injuries he received from the other.

of *Coy* gallant Jackson forgot the wound he receiv-
The inhalf in his solicitude for his brother, who re-

ceived at the same time a much severer one in the head *after* he was taken prisoner. They were both committed to gaol with their wounds undressed; and, what would suffuse the cheek of a barbarian with a blush, they were deprived of the only consolation that remained—that of sympathising with, and consoling each in their calamities—they were confined in different apartments! They were here incarcerated until exchanged for British prisoners, a few of whom were taken near Camden. The exchange of these gallant youths was a presage to one of them to exchange worlds. The wound of Robert proved mortal; not so much from its original severity, as from the barbarous neglect of it while in prison. It occasioned an inflammation in the brain; and very soon after he obtained his freedom, death relieved him from one of the greatest calamities incident to man. The venerable mother, having laboured incessantly for the relief of the American prisoners—having seen her prospects of temporal happiness totally blighted—disconsolate and broken hearted, she soon followed her second son into eternity. She died near Charleston, S. C.

Andrew Jackson, now a youth of fifteen, found himself alone in the world. With no being in the country in which he was born, could he claim affinity or relationship. His constitution was impaired by recent toil, and cruel imprisonment. The anguish he felt at the fate of his whole family, must have been excruciating in the extreme. To make the full cup of human calamity overflow, he was violently seized with the small pox, which brought him to the very jaws of death, and he narrowly escaped the grave to which all his family had been consigned.

The estate of his father was now in his sole possession. Although not large, it was sufficient, with that careful attention, and prudent calculation which a man of mere monied business always understands, to have enabled him to complete his education, and to have had a competency remaining. But *Andrew Jackson* was not born for the counting room; and never thought of those day-book and ledger calculations which are within the reach of the most moderate capacity; but which often, and almost invariably divert the mind from the nobler pursuits of literary reputation and military fame. These had now become *his* objects. If he had had a discreet steward to manage his estate, it would have been a pecuniary advantage unquestionably; but in *his hands*, it was a sort of incumbrance upon his *mind*: and, until it was removed, operated as a check upon its excursions. At this period of his life, he thought little of that independence, in regard to money, which the younger Littleton emphatically pronounces "the rock of life." With a profusion at which prudence would frown, and at which genius would smile, he reduced himself to a situation which compelled him to become—

"*Quisque, suæ fortunæ faber*,"—(in every situation, the builder of his own fortune.)

At about sixteen years of age, he returned to his literary pursuits; making them however, as it would seem from his subsequent course, secondary to his paramount desire for a military life. His second instructor was a Mr. *M'Culloch*. With him he renewed the study of the languages, and other studies preparatory to his entrance at an university. His attention was by no means confined to the mere prescribed duty enjoined by his preceptor. He was not one of those unambitious pupils who concluded that enough was done when his *lesson* was committed to memory; and that he was a linguist and a mathematician, because he could distinguish between a *dactyl* and a *spondee*—between a *single* and a *double* equation. His studies were as diversified as the suggestions of his inclination; and he ventured to explore those regions of literature to which his native genius pointed out the avenues. Such a course of study would never have made him a popular tutor in an university; but it was calculated to make him a *general*, if not a *particular* scholar. He continued his literary pursuits until he arrived to the age of eighteen. Finding his patrimony diminished, from expenditures of it, he relinquished his intentions of entering an university. At the same time he relinquished his intentions, if he ever had any, of entering into "holy orders." It was the wish of his deceased mother that he might become a minister of the gospel; but he was fully aware that if he had been consecrated to that sacred profession, it would have rendered it incompatible with his duties, to avenge, with his sword, the injuries he and his family had sustained from it. Andrew Jackson was brought into existence to discharge other duties than those which belong to the sacred profession; and although the *church* may regret that he had not brought his splendid talents into its divine service; the *state* and the *army* may both acknowledge the services he has rendered them, not only with gratitude, but with admiration.

CHAPTER II.

Incidents of early life—of Andrew Jackson's—He commences and completes the study of law—Patriotism of American Lawyers—He commences the practice of law, and emigrates to the South-West Territory—is appointed Attorney-general—member of the Tennessee Convention—a Representative in Congress—a Senator in Congress—a Judge of the Supreme Court in Tennessee—and retires to private life.

IN the preceding chapter, the reader has been made acquainted with the origin of Andrew Jackson—his early pursuits, and the most interesting incidents of his juvenile years. It has been frequently remarked, and always with truth, that those who have distinguished themselves in the science of war, have discovered the bias of the mind to the profession of arms in the early stages of life. The biographies of the great military and naval characters of Europe furnish numerous instances of the truth of this remark. At seventeen, *Bonaparte*, a cadet in a military academy, in resentment of an affront, thrust his sword into a balloon, ready to ascend for the gratification of Louis XVI. whose throne *he* afterwards occupied. *Nelson*, at a still earlier period of life, encountered a bear upon the frozen ocean. So unhappily deficient are the biographical sketches of American worthies, that the present generation know little of the gigantic statesmen and heroes who lived in the last. The truth of the remark is established as it relates to WASHINGTON and PUTNAM. The first, in early life, discovered the cool and regulated courage of a great commander, and the last, at twelve, when visiting Boston for the first time, encountered and conquered an ememy double his age and size. He also in youth "*carried the ring*" at gymnastic exercises, and destroyed a wolf, in his den, at the hazard of his own life. The incident mentioned of Jackson, is evincive of his whole character—he resisted the exercise of unauthorised power in a British officer, and demanded justice for himself and his fellow prisoners. When it is considered that the power of the British army was at that time irresistible—that the tories were numerous—that they violated all the rules of civilized warfare, and that Jackson was less than fourteen years of age, and subject to all their cruelty and ferocity, his firmness excites admiration.

In 1784, he commenced the study of law, under the instruction and direction of *Spruce M'Cay*, Esquire, at Salisbury, North Carolina. It is but justice to the profession of law, to remark, that among its members in America and England, have always been found the most energetic advocates of the rights of the people. As a corrupt ministry have encroached upon the constitutional rights of the people, English and Irish advocates have thrown a shield before the designated victims of ministerial vengeance, and persuaded juries to save their fellow men from Botany-Bay and the gibbet. The names of *Erskine* and *Gibbs*, are dear to Englishmen—*Curran* and *Grattan*, to Irishmen.

At the commencement of the revolution, the members of the American bar, almost without exception, arranged themselves upon the side of their country; and by their examples, as well as their eloquence, aroused the sacred flame of patriotism in the bosoms of their oppressed countrymen. Their conduct drew from the eloquent Burke, one of his finest encomiums, in the British house of commons. To their honour let it be said, that at the commencement of the last war, which secured the independence acquired by the army of the revolution, they again espoused the cause of the Republic. They not only thundered defiance to our inveterate enemy, in the Senate, but many placed themselves in the embattled ranks of their countrymen. A number of them fell victims to their courage, whose memories will for ever be cherished—a number of them still survive, and still grace the army of the Republic. A JACKSON, a MACOMB, a GAINES, a SCOTT, and a RIPLEY, will not suffer by a comparison with the first soldiers in the universe, and it is *believed* they were all members of the bar when they entered the army. Mr. Jackson completed the study of law with *John Stokes*, Esquire, and was licenced as a practitioner in 1786. He presented himself at the bar at an age when most students commence the study of law. The part of the country in which he was situated, afforded but a slender prospect of success; but while it prevented him from enjoying the profits of the *practice*, it enabled him to become more familiar with the *theory* of law.

In 1788, the course of emigration was from the Atlantic states to the waters of the Mississippi. The present state of Tennessee was then a territorial government of the United States, called the *South West Territory*, having been recently organized by Congress. The climate was salubrious, the soil was fertile, and it was rapidly emerging from a wilderness state, to a state of civilization. Mr. Jackson, with that spirit of adventure which is in him a striking characteristic, resolved to leave a country which offered but few inducements to detain him in it.

The honourable Judge *M'Nairy* was appointed judge of this territory in 1788, and was accompanied by Mr. Jackson to *Nashville*, at which place they arrived in October of that year, when the first supreme court was holden. He here found himself among a people entirely different in manners, customs, and habits, from those he had recently left. In the older states, where one generation of inhabitants have followed another in regular succession, there are always some distinguishing characteristics in the whole population. But in the new states, the traveller of observation can hardly discover any established character in the people, but that of energy and personal independence. In those parts of the Republic which have been settled for two centuries, a family, a monied, or a landed aristocracy, can always be discovered. The many become subservient to the few, and subjugate their minds to those, who by wealth or power, have obtained the ascendency over them. In such a state of society, an insulated being, like Andrew Jackson, without the influence of friends to aid him, or without funds to procure them, can hardly hope, with the most gigantic powers, to place himself in elligible circumstances. Far otherwise is the case in the new states. Drawn together from different sections of our extensive country, from motives of interest, of power, or of fame, each individual may almost be said to make a province by himself. In such a situation, the most energetic character becomes the object of the greatest popular favour. In this sphere was Jackson exactly calculated to move. Without any intrinsic advantages to promote his advancement, he had to rely solely upon intrinsic worth and decision of character, to enable him to rise rapidly with a rapidly rising people.

The place of his nativity could not be recollected without the most distressing association of ideas. His whole family, excepting his father, who may be said to have died a natural death, there fell victims to the ruthless barbarity of British soldiery, who carried on an unnatural war against their own countrymen, in their own colonies. That attachment to *home*, which may be said to constitute a part of our nature, must have been alienated from the bosom of Jackson. In the *Waxsaw* settlement, S. C. he had his birth—there he was a sad spectator of the extinction of his whole family; and there he all but lost his own life. To him, the plain of *Waxsaw*, with all its charms, must have been as cheerless as that of *Golgotha* to the ancients.

He commenced the practice of law in the South West Territory, at the age of little more than twenty one years; and although the district contained many aspiring young men who had already emigrated there to share the honours of the new government, and the profits of business, Mr. Jackson soon rendered himself distinguished among those who were "*themselves conspicuous there.*"

The unyielding integrity of his character, and his unceasing attention to business, soon introduced him to the notice of the government; and he was appointed Attorney-General of the territory. This office he continued to sustain with great reputation to himself, and with essential advantage to the dignified and impartial administration of justice for many years.

In 1796, the South West Territory was admitted as a sovereign and independent state into the American Union, by the name of the *State of Tennessee*; being the sixteenth star that was added to the American Constellation. The citizens were called upon to exercise the first great act of self-government—

that of forming a constitution as the supreme law of the state. Mr. Jackson was chosen a member of the convention called to discharge this important duty. Although he had become known to the most distinguished citizens of the country, his exertions in this convention, brought him into more universal notice, by the laborious part he took in the interesting discussions upon this momentous subject. The course of his studies had previously led him to investigate minutely the subject of government, from the earliest ages down to the close of the eighteenth century. With the rise, progress, and termination of the ancient Republics, he had made himself familiarly acquainted. He had witnessed the operation of the American Constitution, and those of the different states for a number of years. With a mind thus prepared to meet the important discussion, he took the lead in the debates upon the different articles of the proposed constitution. To those who are acquainted with the constitution of the state of Tennessee, it will be seen with what precision the Legislative, the Executive, and Judiciary powers are designated—with what care the civil rights of the people are secured—and with what unlimited freedom the rights of conscience may be enjoyed.

The people of Tennessee, as a mark of the confidence they placed in Mr. Jackson, elected him their first representative in the Congress of the United States. He was a new member of the national legislature, and was surrounded by a body of statesmen who have scarcely been equalled, and certainly never have been excelled, since the adoption of the American Constitution. If, owing to that modesty which is always a concomitant with real greatness, he did not immediately shine, his constituents, the next year, (1797,) raised him to the high and responsible station of a Senator of Congress. It was during his congressional life, that the two great political parties of the Republic were in array against each other. He was a Republican; and of course in the minority. Although no man ever more cheerfully submitted to authority when properly exercised, yet he never could be brought to be a *minor* actor in the plots of political intrigue—and to be a *leader* in political machinations, his habits and principles rendered him totally unqualified. He resigned his seat in the senate in 1799, and returned to Tennessee, with the government of which he had now become identified.

He was now called upon to discharge the duties of an important office under the constitution and laws of the state, in the establishment of which, he had taken so important a part. In 1799, he was appointed a judge of the supreme court. This appointment was bestowed upon him without his knowledge, contrary to his wishes, and very much opposed to his inclination. After discharging the duties of it for a short period, he resigned it, and retired to his delightful real estate upon the banks of the Cumberland river, where for a number of years he enjoyed, in the bosom of his family, that domestic felicity which is always produced by attachment for private worth, mingled with respect for dignity of character. From the citizens with whom he was located, he invariably received every demonstration of respectful attachment, and grateful acknowledgement, which a people, in the enjoyment of temporal felicity, usually bestow upon the benefactor who had secured it for them. In Mr. Jackson, although he had scarcely reached the middle age of life, the people recognized a political father, who had ever discovered more solicitude for their political rights, and individual happiness, than for his own emolument or aggrandizement.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Jackson's career in civil life—commencement of his Military career—Major-general of Tennessee Militia—Militia forces—American savages—Reason for their hatred and vengeance against Anglo-Americans. Religious fanaticism among them--The Prophet Francis, and his brother Tecumseh—Effect of their assumed divinity—Tender of Gen. Jackson, and his Volunteers to the government of the U. States.

AT the close of the last chapter, the reader found the subject of these memoirs in a situation, above all others the best calculated for the enjoyment of temporal felicity—with an estate abundantly competent, without being so overgrown as to excite solicitude—in a family circle, where every affectionate sentiment was cordially reciprocated, and surrounded by extensive acquaintances who loved him for his affability, respected him for his dignity, and venerated him for his exalted patriotism.

Hitherto the attention of Mr. Jackson had been almost exclusively confined to the pursuits of *civil life*. Although the duties of it are oftentimes arduous, and the difficulties sometimes inextricable, yet he had moved through it with incalculable benefit to his country, and with undivided approbation to himself. The history of our country scarcely affords an instance of an individual, who has, so early in life, been called to fill so many important offices in such rapid succession. At twenty-two, Attorney-general of a district—at twenty-nine, member of convention to form a constitution—at the same age, a representative in Congress—at thirty, a Senator in Congress, and at thirty-two, a Judge of the Supreme Court of an independent State.

Thus far in life, Mr. Jackson had reaped a rich reward for his devotion to his country, in the applause bestowed upon him by his countrymen. Had he been disposed to have lived in his delightful retirement, and to have been a *spectator* of the sufferings his fellow-citizens were called to endure from a christian and a savage foe, he would indeed have ended his days without the splendid glory which is *now* attached to his name; yet he would have also escaped from the acrimonious censure, and illiberal abuse of those who envy him his reputation, and vainly endeavour to rob him of his hard-earned fame.

However brilliant has been the career of Mr. Jackson in civil life, it is almost forgotten by the renown he has acquired by military achievements. To the great mass of his countrymen, he is known *only* as a distinguished military character. It will be the object of the remaining part of this work to present the reader with a view of his military career.

The same year that the state of Tennessee was admitted into the union, (1796,) Mr. Jackson was appointed Major-general of the militia of that State. As the whole of its militia was then embraced in one division, Gen. Jackson was the actual commander in chief of the whole military force of the state; as it is unusual for the governours of the states, who are *ex officio*, Captain-generals, to command in person. But for many years before the commencement of the last war, the command of a Major-general was rather *nominal* than *real*—a whole division being seldom called out together. But upon Gen. Jackson, the people depended for an efficient organization of their military force.

Without derogating at all from the high reputation of the militia of the American Republic, probably the most efficient in the world, the history of our country will justify the remark, that it is a species of force that cannot be relied upon, excepting in sudden emergencies. In the revolutionary war, notwithstanding the imperfections of their organization, they certainly aided essentially in establishing our independence. But how often, during that portentous period, was the Commander in Chief, and other commanders, left with an handful of "Continental Troops," to wander through a country where a regiment of militia could scarcely be raised, to take the field for any length of time? They might be brought, from the principles of self-preservation, to defend their home, and to repel an enemy from their immediate neighbourhood, but could with difficulty be brought to follow the apparently desperate fortune of the Chief to a distant portion of the country. Had not the "Continental Army" been organized, and been brought to consider themselves as soldiers of the *whole* American Republic—*Cornwallis might* have ultimately surrendered—but it is doubtful whether Washington would have conquered him in 1781.

At the commencement of the last war, the militia of the United States had enjoyed a period of peace for thirty years. The acts of Congress, and of the individual states, made every possible salutary provison to give to that force respectability and efficiency. This body then consisted of eight hundred thousand men ; an hundred thousand of whom were drafted for the service of the United States. The collisions between the state governments and that of the Union—the jealousies between the officers of the army and those of the militia, are within the recollection of every reader ; but the detail belongs more properly to *The History of the Second War between the American Republic and the Kingdom of Great Britain*, than to *The Memoirs of Major General Jackson*.

In 1812, Gen. Jackson, being still major-general of the Tennessee militia, was called by the dictates of patriotism, and his ardent love of his country, to espouse its cause in the *field*, as he had spent much of his life in advocating its interests in the *cabinet*. With the sagacity of a statesman, and with the feelings of a patriot, he had long seen a storm gathering over his beloved country. He had seen one Republic after another fall in Europe, before the tremendous power of the "Allied Sovereigns." He had seen the best and the last hopes of man blasted and almost annihilated in Europe, by the uplifted arm of despotic power. He had seen the British government, from the commencement of the Pitt administration, to that period, the head of this "holy alliance" offensive and defensive against the rights of man. He had seen that power, from year to year, encroaching upon the independence which the American Republic compelled them to acknowledge in 1783. He had seen the pacific policy of the American government, resorting to negociation after negociation, met by the increasing insolence of the arrogant Court of St. James. He had not only seen, but he and the people of Tennessee had for many years, felt, the effect of British and Spanish influence over the Creek, the most ferocious and warlike tribe of Indians upon the continent. For many years this tribe carried on a predatory warfare against the settlements in Tennessee, especially upon the Cumberland river, upon which general Jackson resided. He and the people, without any aid from the general government, had defended themselves from the frequent incursions of this insidious and barbarous foe. In this way, the people of Tennessee had learned the horrors of Indian warfare from their own sufferings.

The history of the world scarcely furnishes a parallel with the sufferings of the Europeans upon the continent of America. Nor does it furnish a parallel with the injuries which the native *Americans* have sustained from *Europeans*. The conquest of South America, by the Spaniards, was marked with more sanguinary violations of the rights of humanity, than any conquest from that of Canaan to the nineteenth century of the christian era. As little as we know of its blood-stained history, we have, from infancy, wept over the calamities of the *Incas* of Peru, and of the countless legions of their unhappy subjects. Through the eye of history, we see the powerful agents of his most *Catholic* majesty arrive among these happy natives. With an exterminating sword in one hand, and with the word of God in the other, these early *missionaries* demanded the immediate conversion of a whole people to christianity. The artless sons of nature, who supposed the most splendid object was the fittest one to be adored, offered their adoration to the Sun. They *could not* adore an invisible being, who made no impression upon their *senses*. An army with the weapons of destruction and death, was ready to aid the priest-hood in the work of conversion. One Inca, fell with his nation after another, with their inexhaustible treasures, fell into the hands of christian Spaniards, and at this time the aborigines of S. America scarcely have an existence.

In North America, the acqusitions of Europeans were attended with circumstances less bloody; but the natives were compelled by arms, or by contracts enforced by them, to retire as they advanced in settlements. The tomahawk and the arrow, were feeble, compared with fire arms and bayonets. Although they were compelled to surrender their territory, their native pride and heroic courage was never subjugated. They retired before their conquerors; and as their territory was wrested from them by fraud, or by force, and as their numbers were diminished by disease, and by war, their vengeance against their spoilers increased. But one sentiment prevailed among them from the Isthmus of Darien to the North-West coast—from the Atlantic to the Western ocean. The broken remnants of some few tribes have indeed been brought to bury the hatchet; but they never have been, and probably never will be, cordially reconciled to the white population. The hostile savages by privations the most severe, by tortures the most cruel, and by deaths the most horrible, still wreak their vengeance upon the descendants of those who first invaded their native soil.

In about the year 1810, a blind religious fanatacism was added to the natural ferocity of the American savages. A *Prophet* arose among them, and claimed *divine power*, derived directly from the GREAT SPIRIT. This immense accession to *human power*, was no less calculated to fascinate *savages*, than it ever has been to excite the veneration of that part of mankind who claim to be *civilized*. The American Savage, *Francis*, had as many claims to the character and the inspiration of a Prophet, as the Asiatic civilian, *Mahomet*; and had he possessed equal power to make conquests and converts, under the banners of divinity, he might hereafter have had as many followers. But Gen. HARRISON disrobed him of his divinity at TIPPACANOE, in 1811, and his brother *Tecumseh*, fled to the southern tribes upon the Alabama, early in the year 1812, to *inspire* the savages there to act in concert with their red brethren in the north. But nothing inspired the Creek, Alabama, and Siminole Indians so much as British and Spanish gold, British muskets, and British promises. With their hereditary hatred against Americans, (or the citizens of the United States,) added to the enthusiasm excited by Tecumseh, and the liberal aid of the British and Spanish governments, these powerful tribes, at the commencement of the last war, were prepared to spread havock, devastation, torture, and death, among the Americans who bordered upon their territory.

The states of Tennessee and Georgia, from their vicinity to the immense country inhabited by the Creeks, were more immediately exposed to the horrid ravages of Indian warfare. Familiarized to their unrelenting barbarity, the citizens of Georgia and Tennessee were fully aware, that nothing but a war of extermination against the Creeks, would protect their own settlements on the frontiers, from destruction, and their families from wanton barbarity. Tecumseh had, by his art, his eloquence, and his assumed divinity, infused into the Creek nation, the most implacable hatred against the Americans. He addressed himself to their pride, by reminding them of the ancient power of the savages, and the boundless extent of their territory. He aroused their vengeance against Americans, as the people who had reduced their numbers, and diminished their greatness. He censured them for any conformity, in any respect, to the Americans, and exhorted them, upon the dreadful penalty of the displeasure of the Great Spirit, to return wholly to the savage state. The preaching of *Saint Bernard* and *Peter the Monk*, had not a greater effect upon the Christians of Europe, when they exhorted them to raise a *crusade* against the infidels, than did that of Tecumseh upon the Creek, the Alabama, and Siminole Indians. A complete concert was established between all the southern tribes, and a general concert between them and the northern ones. War clubs were every where distributed—but the most profound secrecy was enjoined. Tecumseh had warranted the interposition of the *Great Spirit*, and, what he had much better authority for doing, that of *Great Britain*, in favour of the savages.

The confidence of the savages, in the success that would attend them and their christian allies, the British, was effectually confirmed. It was an established principle with them to give no quarters nor to ask any. Pursuant to this system, they had before the commencement of the last war, murdered many families upon the frontiers of Georgia, and Tennessee, and seemed resolved to extirpate the Americans, or be exterminated themselves.

This brief sketch may be deemed a digression; but I considered it necessary to prepare the mind of the reader for the succinct account which will follow, of the part taken by Gen. Jackson in the sanguinary war carried on by him and the gallant army under his command against the Creeks.

The act of Congress, of 1812, authorizing the raising of a *Volunteer Corps*, of fifty thousand men, to serve *one* year within *two* years after they were organized, induced Gen. Jackson to address the gallant sons of Tennessee belonging to his division. Perhaps no man in the American Republic could address his fellow-citizens, with more confidence of success, than Gen. Jackson—certain it is that no one addressed them so successfully. In a very short time, he found his standard, at *Nashville*, surrounded by twenty-five hundred men, among whom were many of the first families, and of the greatest fortunes. It was not that wordy and paper patriotism which filled many of the journals of the day with inflated *resolutions*, pledging to the Republic the "*lives, fortune, and honour*," of those who passed them. These men came in person to serve their country, rather than in a town-meeting, to *resolve* that they would do it. Gen. Jackson *voluntarily* offered his *service* to his country, instead of soliciting an *office* from its government. The General and his army of Volunteers, made a tender of their services to government, and in November 1812, were accepted, and became a part of the national force.

When this corps of Volunteers was organized, they little thought, perhaps, what arduous duty would be allotted to them; and had they anticipated it, the glory they afterwards acquired, would hardly have been thought a sufficient reward for the excessive fatigues and hazards they endured in acquiring it. Their achievements shall be recorded with scrupulous regard to accuracy, and their aberrations from duty shall be mentioned with all the delicacy that is consistent with truth.

CHAPTER IV.

Gen. Jackson and Tennessee Volunteers—Importance of the river Mississippi—Mr. Monroe's solicitude for the security of it, and the Western States—Volunteers rendezvous at Nashville, Tenn.—descend the Ohio and Mississippi—encamp at Natchez—Order for their discharge from Mr. Armstrong—disobeyed by Gen. Jackson—Volunteers return to Tennessee, and are discharged--Approbation of the government.

THE avidity and promptitude with which the large and respectable CORPS OF TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS resorted to the standard of their beloved and respected commander, Andrew Jackson, was a sure presage of the gallantry with which they would support the independence, rights, and honour of the Republic against a savage and implacable foe upon the borders of their native state, and against the most powerful and veteran nation in Europe, now in alliance with them.

At the commencement of the last war, it was impossible for the government to determine upon what part of our extended sea-board, the naval forces of Britain would first attempt to make a *demonstration;* or upon what part of our frontier, its armies would attempt to invade our territory. The immense importance of the command of the Mississippi, and its tributary streams, could not escape the attention of either the American or British governments. Every exertion therefore of the one to retain, and of the other to acquire it, might well be expected. The lower states and territories situated upon this important river, attracted the early attention of government, and induced the most efficient measures for their defence.

Mr. Monroe, for some time previous, and during the whole war, was a member of the American Cabinet. As ambassador of the American Republic, at the court of France, he had negotiated the treaty for the accession of *Louisiana* to the United States ; and must have felt a deep solicitude in the rising importance of the Western States. He was aware, that without the command of the Mississippi, they would loose their future importance, and be at present subjected to the rapacity of British soldiery, and the horrors of savage warfare. Although the war department, until the campaign of 1814, was not under his immediate control, and although he was not directly implicated in the disasters of those of 1812, and 1813 ; he nevertheless, as one of the first officers in the Cabinet, felt a high degree of responsibility. In regard to the Mississippi river, as he may almost be said to have *acquired* it for his country, he must have felt a deep interest in *securing* the incalculable benefits arising to the Republic, especially to the Western States, from the exclusive command of it.

The Tennessee Volunteers, under the command of Gen. Jackson, at the close of the year 1812, were ordered to proceed down the Ohio and Mississippi, for the defence of the lower states against an expected attack of the British forces. The deep laid plot of the Indians already mentioned, was not yet ready for execution; nor were the American settlers exposed to their immediate ravages, excited to make any but the ordinary preparations of defence against these insidious, cruel, and infernal enemies. The Creeks were apparently indifferent spectators to the contest which had now commenced between the American Republic, and the kingdom of Great Britain.

At the beginning of the year 1813, Gen. Jackson and his fine corps of Tennessee Volunteers, having previously rendezvoused at Nashville, in Tennessee, situated upon the south bank of Cumberland river, prepared to execute the orders received to descend the Ohio and Mississippi. Although situated in a mild and salubrious climate, enduring but little severity in comparison with the more frigid regions of the northern states, the country at this time was covered with snow, and the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi was obstructed and rendered difficult and hazardous by ice.

The Volunteers had thus far enjoyed the animating splendour of military life, but were yet unacquainted with its toils, fatigues, and privations. Upon the 7th January 1813, headed in person by a leader whom they esteemed as an accomplished commander, and an affectionate guardian, they commenced an expedition, in which they hoped to render essential service to their country, which they loved better than they did their lives, and to acquire for themselves the reputation of patriotic soldiers. Animated by the example of Gen. Jackson, they endured the hardships of a long and tedious passage, without a murmur, and submitted to the discipline indispensibly necessary in an army, without the least appearance of insubordination. They arrived at *Natchez*, about three hundred miles above New Orleans, where they were ordered to rendezvous until further orders.

Gen. Jackson, having selected the most judicious situation for the encampment of his army, here commenced the arduous and difficult duty of changing *citizens* to *soldiers*. The Tennessee Volunteers had seen nothing of military life, except the easy and pleasurable duty usually performed by militia in time of peace, and occasional excursions against small parties of savages. Had they *enlisted* into the army of the Republic, received a liberal bounty from its treasury, and been certain of regular payment of wages while in service, and a valuable tract of land when discharged ; a cheerful submission to military discipline might have been expected, and a necessary one enforced. These patriotic Volunteers thought little of a pecuniary reward ; but were inspired, by the impulse of patriotism, to become disciplined soldiers out of principle.

But no sooner had they began to learn the duties of the camp, and to acquire the science of war, than an order from the war-department was received by Gen. Jackson, commanding him "*to dismiss his Volunteers, and deliver all public property in his possession to Major-general Wilkinson,*" then commanding the military district in which they were stationed. Mr. *Armstrong* was then Secretary at War. It is not for the historian or the biographer to enquire into *motives*, or to impeach them; but when the *fact* is stated that this order bore date the 5th of January, 1813, two days *before* Gen. Jackson moved with his forces from *Nashville*, and was not received until sometime *after* he established his cantonment at *Natchez*, almost five hundred miles below, the reader may well exclaim, in the language of the Prince of the Drama,—"*there is a spirit in the affairs of state, which nor tongue, nor pen, can give expressure to.*"

A compliance with this order would have been an abandonment of his corps. Although among them were many men, possessed of ample funds and adequate means, to travel half a thousand miles to their homes, yet they little thought, when they entered the service of their country, that they should be so soon compelled to expend their wealth, as well as expose their lives and health in its defence. A very great number were wholly destitute of the means of subsistence, and depended wholly upon the public stores in their possession for the support of life while in camp, and upon their return march through a country, either very thinly inhabited or a wilderness.

A third class were in a situation still more deplorable ; indeed, in a state of absolute destitution—destitute of health, destitute of resources, and, as a general consequence, destitute of hope. The sick list numbered between one hundred and fifty, and two hundred ; many of whom were languishing under extreme debility.

It is difficult to conceive of a situation more distressing, and responsible than that in which Gen. Jackson was placed by this order from Mr. Armstrong. Obedience to it would have been casting most of his patriotic followers upon a pityless world in an inclement season, and destitute of resources—disobedience of the order would subject him to military punishment, unless the peculiar circumstances of the case should be deemed sufficient to *excuse* him from the operation of military law. After consultation with his officers, who, at first, accorded with him in opinion, he assured the Secretary at War, that the order would be disregarded ; and that a sufficient quantity of the public stores, would be retained to aid his Volunteers in returning to their homes.

General Wilkinson was advised of the order of the war department, and of the determination of Gen. Jackson in regard to it. Clothed with the authority of the government—commanding one of the most extensive military districts in the Republic—anxious to augment his stores, and increase the number of his own troops, he endeavoured to intimidate Gen. Jackson into obedience of the order, by fore-warning him of the alarming consequences to himself, of disobedience. Some of his own officers retracted their first decision, and advised a compliance with the order. Even the quartermaster endeavoured to compel him to the measure, by omiting to take the necessary steps preparatory to the commencement of the return march. Cool, collected, and unembarrassed, Gen. Jackson now took counsel from his own judgment, and the responsibility of his conduct upon his own head; knowing, that if called to do it, he could justify himself before any forum, excepting one that had prejudged his case. He gave orders for breaking up the encampment, and for commencing the movement which was to conduct his Volunteers to the place of original rendezvous; and gave it in such a manner, and accompanied it with such acts, as to convince all, that from this decision there was no appeal.

The gloom and dejection which pervaded this corps, when the order from the war department was received, was converted to the exhilaration of joy when the determination of their general was made known. The waggons were used for the transportation of the sick; and even the horses of the general and his staff, were cheerfully surrendered for that purpose when necessary. During a march of nearly five hundred miles, Gen. Jackson evinced, by his uniform conduct, that although his situation compelled him to act as a soldier, "*he felt* *like a man.*" To the high respect which was at all times felt by the Tennessee Volunteers for Gen. Jackson, was now added the most ardent attachment. They almost forgot the dignity of the *general*, in the more amiable and endearing qualities of the *patron* and the *friend.* This corps, having endured the privations of the camp, and the fatigues of marching and counter-marching, without having *yet* acquired any of the laurels which are reaped in the field of battle, were discharged about the 1st of May, 1813. But the ardent patriotism, regulated by a spirit of subordination, which they shewed in this first scene of military life, justified the high expectation which was entertained of them, and which was afterwards so amply gratified by their splendid military achievements.

The course pursued by Gen. Jackson in regard to Mr. Armstrong's order, and the Volunteers, may meet with the animadversion of the *mere* officer, who acquired his knowledge of tactics from *books*, and his ideas of subordination from reading the articles of war; but his conduct was approbated by the administration, and the whole expenses of the expedition paid out of the public treasury. The military ardour of Gen. Jackson was not damped by the critical, and even dangerous circumstances in which he had recently been placed—dangerous, more from the machinations of official intrigue, than from the open enemies of the country. The first he had too much magnanimity even to suspect—the last he had courage enough to face in every possible situation.

CHAPTER V.

Approbation and censure of general Jackson—Implacable hostility of savages increased by British and Spanish emissaries, and British ravages—Indian massacre of garrison, women and children, at Fort Mimms—Expedition from Tennessee against Creeks prepared—Gen. Jackson assumes the command—Colonel Coffee—Difference between Militia, Volunteers, and Regular Troops—Gen. Jackson proceeds to the frontiers—prepares for active service—Deficiency of provisions in his camp—Col. Dyer destroys *Littafutches*—First victory over Creeks at *Tallushatches*—Gen. Coffee's report of it to Gen. Jackson.

THE superficial reader of Biography, feels impatient to arrive at the developement of the distinguished character who is the subject of it. The more critical examiner, traces the progress of the Statesman, the Soldier, and the Scholar, from the first dawn of his greatness, to the meridian of his glory. The untutored imagination will utter vociferous hosannas to the memories of the great; but they are as destitute of meaning, as were the enthusiastic praises bestowed by the Ephesians, upon the goddess Diana. That applause which is offered by intelligence to merit, is the only commendation which a great and a good man wishes to receive when in life, and it is the only sentence which will embalm his memory after his death. The same remarks may be applied to the censure which the world generally bestows with more liberality than it does its praise. It has been shewn that Gen. Jackson had scarcely entered the threshold of his military life, before the cheering voice of approbation, as well as the dissonant notes of censure, met his ear. But he was then, and is now, a man whom merited praise cannot enervate, and whom unjust censure cannot intimidate.

In the third chapter of this work, the reasons were briefly stated why the Aborigines of America, are so implacably hostile to the Anglo-Americans, especially to the citizens of the American Republic. They have been taught to believe that their Great Fathers, beyond the great waters, occupying the thrones of Britain and Spain, are their friends and protectors ; while the Americans are their enemies and destroyers. The emissaries of these *great potentates* themselves, will always disseminate and encourage this sentiment, as long as they have colonies bordering upon the *United States ;* and as long as they need savages, as *allies*, to aid them in their Quixotic views of *recolonizing them.*

Lest this fact may, by some be thought to be too confidently stated, I quote the following from the Report of the *Committee on Foreign Relations*, to whom was referred the *Manifesto* of President Madison, of the 1st June 1812,—" It is known that symptoms of British hostility towards the United States, have never failed to produce corresponding symptoms among those tribes. [" *Savage tribes on our frontiers*"] It is also well known, that on all such occasions, abundant supplies of the ordinary munitions of war, have been afforded by the agents of British commercial companies, and even from British garrisons, wherewith they were enabled to commence that system of savage warfare on our frontiers, which has been, at all times, indiscriminate in its effect, on all ages, sexes, and conditions, and so revolting to humanity" This is confined to British emissaries. Before the reader reaches the close of these brief Memoirs, he will be furnished with evidence " strong as proof of holy writ" of the more aggravated injuries of the emissaries of Ferdinand VII. of Spain.

It was not until the British fleets had commenced their ravages upon our then defenceless seaports ; and the British armies had began the work of devastation upon our then unprotected frontiers, that the Creek Indians, as a tribe, advanced for a similar purpose, to the borders of the states of Georgia, Tennessee, and Mississippi. The last mentioned state, then a territorial government, felt the first disastrous shock from a concealed storm that had long hung in awful silence upon its borders.

The Spanish government, the consummate duplicity of which is equalled only by the horrours of its despotism, had long furnished the Creeks with arms and amunition, the better to enable them to destroy the rapidly increasing settlements of the states bordering upon Florida. As before mentioned, these states had defended themselves with but little aid from the general government.

In August 1813, a garrison of an hundred and fifty men, was stationed in a settlement called *Tensaw*, in the state of Mississippi. They occupied an incomplete fortress, called Fort *Mimms*, at *Tensalo*, to which many females and children had resorted for protection against the enkindled wrath of the Creek Indians, who had before, in small parties, wantonly murdered a number of families. The whole amounted to nearly 400, at the fort. But the garrison and the inhabitants were unsuspicious of a general movement of these ferocious sons of the forest.

Upon the 30th of August, the furious storm of savage warfare burst upon them with all its appalling horrours. From six hundred to a thousand savages commenced an assault. The most veteran courage was imbecility itself against such an overwhelming superiority of force. The tragical scene that followed the possession of Fort Mimms, by the Creeks, no mind can conceive—no tongue can express—no pen can describe! The savages, having long before resolved to ask no quarters, nor to grant any, began and completed the dreadful work of human carnage. The demand of the soldier for quarters, was as ineffectual as the heart-piercing entreaties of the mother, to spare her life and that of her child. A general slaughter was made; and out of about three hundred and seventy persons.

soldiers, women, and children, in and about the fort, but seventeen escaped.

The Indians entered one of the gates of the fort, and set fire to an old building within it. Major *Beasly* commanded ; and with a band, that reminds the reader of the Spartan band* of Leonidas at Thermopolæ, maintained a conflict with more than four times their force, until they slew more than their own numbers. While this forlorn hope were selling their lives in the fort, the aged men, the helpless women, and shrieking children, were perishing in the flames in the upper story of the burning building. To use the impressive language of one who was near this scene of carnage—" Under the double influence of British gold, and furious fanaticism, the savages fought in a manner scarcely to be credited. The fight was so obstinately maintained for a long time, that the opponents, overcome by fatigue and exertion, loaded their pieces deliberately, and shot each other down, or were mutually dispatched by the bayonet and tomahawk."

The solicitude which this direful catastrophe produced, in all the exposed settlements upon the Mobile, Tombigbee, and in many other places, can better be imagined than expressed. Although the state of Tennessee was not immediately in danger, yet the most energetic and efficient measures were taken to protect the frontiers, and avenge the massacre at Fort Mimms. The legislature of that state convened toward the close of September—authorized Governour Blount to call into immediate service three thousand five hundred of the militia,—and voted *three hundred thousand dollars*, for their support.

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* I find in many of the official reports during the last war, a brave body of *Americans*, is called " *a Spartan Band*." I cannot see how an *American* band should be a band of *Spartans*, however brave they may be.

The legislature, and indeed, the whole population of Tennessee, fixed their hopes upon Gen. Jackson. The confidence of all in him was unbounded. It had long been his opinion that the only effectual mode of warfare against savages, was to carry war into the heart of their country. Gen. *Wayne*, many years since, and Gen. *Harrison* more recently, had evinced the correctness of this opinion. The legislature accorded with him in sentiment, and the command of an intended expedition devolved upon him.

Gen. Jackson, had recently received a fracture in his arm, and a wound in his body, in the settlement of an affair of honour, in an honourable manner. Under any other circumstances, the severity of the wounds, and the consequent debility, would have detained him in his domestic circle. But he was born for his country—his country demanded his services ; and the ardent patriotism of his soul, made him forget the debility of his body.

He was ordered by governour Blount to call out two thousand militia, and to rendezvous at *Fayette-*

ville. A part of this detachment consisted of the Tennessee Volunteers, who had, the preceding spring returned from Natchez. Upon the 4th of October 1813, the day appointed, the troops promtly repaired to the place of rendezvous. Colonel, soon after general *Coffee*, in the mean time, had raised five hundred mounted Volunteers, and was authorized to augment his force, by adding to it the volunteer mounted riflemen who might offer their services. It would be a task highly grateful to the authour, would the prescribed limits of this work permit, to give a brief sketch of this accomplished and patriotic officer. It is enough to say, that he commenced his active military life, with ANDREW JACKSON; and that in the most disastrous periods of the Creek war, when, by the jealousy of some, the treachery of others, the intrigues of many, and the apprehensions of all, his general was left almost alone in a wilderness of blood-seeking barbarians, he remained "*faithful among the faithless*," till the last conquering stroke was given. He followed the no less desperate fortune of Gen. Jackson to *New Orleans*, where he, with his general, and his gallant army, acquired laurels which will never fade, until men cease to appreciate exalted patriotism.

Upon the 7th October, Gen. Jackson repaired to the rendezvous at Fayetteville; and although in a state of indisposition which required the repose of the hospital, rather than in that vigorous health which is necessary to endure the fatigues of the camp, and a march through the wilderness, he assumed the command of the army designed to avenge the blood of their countrymen, and to conquer the most warlike tribe of barbarians in the universe. It might be deemed presumptuous to say, that Gen. Jackson was the *only* man in Tennessee, who could successfully command an army destined to accomplish this arduous and perilous duty; but it may, without hesitation be said, that no man at that time, had so completely secured the confidence, and raised the hopes of the civil and military power of that state, as he.

He found the troops assembled, deficient in numbers, and was aware that few of them had "seen service." The difference between drafted militia, volunteer troops, and enlisted soldiers, has been slightly alluded to. It will be readily acknowledged by every officer and every soldier in the late war. It does not arise from a difference of patriotism or courage, for both are inherent with all true Americans. It may probably be imputed to the difference in their organization. The *Militia*, in times of peace, consider the performance of military service rather as a pastime than a duty; and cannot be brought, suddenly, to submit to the rigid discipline of the camp. The *Volunteers*, are impelled by love of country, and a thirst for fame, to fly, unasked to the standard of the Republic; but when the impulse that led them there has subsided, and they find that glory is to be acquired by a long course of severe duty, apathy often succeeds to animation ; and many are ready to exclaim with *Byron*, "*I want no other Paradise but rest*." The *Soldiers*, enter the army to make a trade of war. They study discipline as a business ; and courage with them is not only a principle, but it is a system. To conquer, to be captured, or to die, is a matter of course, and of necessity ; and if disasters are remediless, when they happen, they endure them without a murmur.

Gen. Jackson, at the time he commenced his second expedition, and his first against the Creeks, had no United States' troops under his command ; indeed he had no authority himself under the general government, being senior major-general of Tennessee militia. He commenced the arduous duty of converting citizens to soldiers, and resorted to every possible expedient which a prudent as well as an intrepid commander could devise, to *ensure* success. The previous character—the presence and example of the general, inspired the soldiers with confidence, and gave them victory in anticipation.

Colonel Coffee had penetrated with his cavalry and mounted volunteers towards the frontiers, and was stationed near Huntsville. In the Creek nation were many natives in amity with the United States. From them, important information was obtained, and by them, essential service was rendered. Upon the 8th, colonel Coffee informed

Gen. Jackson, by express, that from information derived from Indian runners, the hostile Creeks were in great force, and intended, simultaneously to attack the frontiers of Georgia and Tennessee. Upon the 10th, Gen. Jackson, in an unprepared state, took up the line of march; and what is perhaps without a parallel for a first day's march, reached Huntsville the same evening, a distance of from thirty to forty miles. Colonel Coffee had reached the Tennessee river, and Gen. Jackson, the next day, overtook him, and united with his regiment upon the bank of that river. Aware that "procrastination is the thief of time," and that the ardour of raw and undisciplined troops was soon cooled, he dispatched colonel Coffee, with his mounted corps, to explore the river *Big Warrior*, and *Etomb-igaby*, commonly called Tombigbee.

He encamped his own division upon the Tennessee, and was indefatigable in preparing them for active service. He remained here but a week; and what will excite the astonishment of those who have witnessed the slow progress of raw troops to the character of veteran soldiers, he made his army such in that time. The mystery is explained when it is said, in this corps, *at this time*, they found pleasure in the performance of duty, and the performance of duty, was the enjoyment of pleasure.

In the camp of Gen. Jackson, there could hardly be said to be a Commissary department at this time; and he depended upon various contractors for casual rather than regular supplies of provisions. An alarming deficiency was found to exist, and an uncertainty of supplies was made known. Nothing could be so much calculated to repress military ardour as this discovery. Men who would face death in its most horrible forms, will turn to children at the approach of famine. Gen Jackson, by measures the most efficient, and by entreaties the most urgent, endeavoured to secure a supply. Undismayed himself, he set an example of cheerfulness before his followers, that for a time dispelled their apprehensions.

At this critical period, information was received that the Creeks were embodied near the *Ten Islands* on the *Coosa*. Collecting what provisions could be obtained, but a few days' supply, he commenced his march upon the 18th for *Thompson's Creek*. His route led through a mountainous country, which would seem to have defied the passage of an army and the appendages of it. Upon the 22d he arrived there, where he remained until certain information was received that the Creeks would soon commence active operations upon the Coosa. The warriors, to an amount wholly unknown, but who were supposed to be very numerous, had assembled, in warlike array at *Tallushatches*.

Col. Dyer had before been dispatched to attack, and if possible, destroy the Indian town of *Littafutches*. He destroyed the place ; and upon the 28th, returned to camp with twenty-nine prisoners of the hostile Creeks, extending that mercy to them by sparing their lives, which their system of warfare prohibited them from extending to Americans.

The main body was encamped about thirteen miles from Tallushatches ; and upon the 1st of November, a small supply of provisions was brought into camp. Col. Coffee had been promoted to a brigadier-general ; and was dispatched early upon the 2d, with 900 cavalry, and mounted riflemen, to attack the Creeks in their encampment. Gen. Jackson, although convalescent, was at this time, extremely debilitated from long indisposition, excessive fatigue, and extreme solicitude, and had no use of one arm ; but in Gen. Coffee, he had an officer to whom he might safely entrust an expedition of any importance, and of any danger.

The result of this first important engagement, I present to the reader in the language of "*Official Reports*." Deeming this altogether the most preferable mode of furnishing the reader with the details of battles, I shall adopt it through the work, when they can be obtained.

Gen. JACKSON, to Gov. BLOUNT.

Camp at Ten Islands, Nov. 4th, 1813.

Governour Blount.

Sir—We have retaliated for the destruction of Fort Mimms. On the 2d, I detached Gen. Coffee with a part of his brigade of cavalry and mounted riflemen, to destroy Tallushatches, where a considerable force of the hostile Creeks were concentrated. The Gen. executed this in style. An hundred and eighty-six of the enemy were found dead on the field, and about 80 taken prisoners, 40 of whom have been brought here. In the number left, there is a sufficiency but slightly wounded to take care of those who are badly.

I have to regret that 5 of my brave fellows have been killed, and about 30 wounded; some badly, but none I hope mortally.

Both officers and men behaved with the utmost bravery and deliberation.

Captains Smith, Bradley, and Winston are wounded, all slightly. No officer is killed.

So soon as Gen. Coffee makes his report, I shall enclose it.

If we had a sufficient supply of provisions, we should in a very short time accomplish the object of the expedition.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, yours, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON.

P. S. Seventeen Cherokees, under the command of Col. Brown, acted with great bravery in the action. Two of Chenubby's sons, and Jim Fife, of the Natchez tribe, also distinguished themselves. One of the Creek prophets is killed.

A. J.

It will be noticed that Gen. Jackson, merely alludes to the subject of provisions; but from numerous sources of correct information, it is certain at that time, that a very scanty supply was on hand.

The following is general Coffee's report of the Battle of Tallushatches, alluded to in the letter to Gov. Blount.

Brig. Gen. COFFEE, to Maj. Gen. JACKSON.

Camp at Ten Islands, Nov. 4th 1813.

Maj. Gen. Jackson.

Sir—I had the honour yesterday, of transmitting you a short account of an engagement that took place between a detachment of about 900 men from my brigade, with the enemy at Tallushatches town; the particulars whereof I beg leave herein to recite you. Pursuant to your order of the 2d, I detailed from my brigade of cavalry and mounted riflemen, 900 men and officers, and proceeding directly to the Tallushatches towns, Crossed Coosa river at the Fish Dam ford, 3 or 4 miles above this place. I arrived within one and a half miles of the town, (distant from this place southeast 8 miles,) on the morning of the 3d, at which place I divided my detachment into two columns, the right composed of the cavalry commanded by Col. Allcorn, to cross over a large creek that lay between us and the towns: the left column was of the mounted riflemen under the command of Col. Cannon, with whom I marched myself. Col. Allcorn was ordered to march up on the right, and encircle one half of the town, and at the same time the left would form a half circle on the left, and unite the head of the columns in front of the town: all of which was performed as I could wish. When I arrived within half a mile of the town, the drums of the enemy began to beat, mingled with their savage yells, preparing for action. It was after sunrise an hour when the action was brought on by Capt. Hammond and Lieut. Patterson's companies, who had gone on within the circle of alignment for the purpose of drawing out the enemy from their buildings, which had the most happy effect. As soon as Capt. Hammond exhibited his front in view of the town, (which stood in open woodland) and gave a few scattering shot, the enemy formed and made a violent charge on him; he gave way as they advanced, until they met our right column, which gave them a general fire, and then charged; this changed the direction of charge completely; the enemy retreated firing, until they got around, and in their buildings, where they made all the resistance that an overpowered soldier could do; they fought as long as one existed, but their destruction was very soon completed; our men rushed up to the doors of the houses, and in a few minuets killed the last warrior of them; the enemy fought with savage fury, and met death with all its horrours, without shrinking or complaining: not one asked to be spared, but fought as long as they could stand or sit. In consequence of their flying to their houses and mixing with the families, our men, in killing the males, without intention, killed and wounded a few of the squaws and children, which was regretted by every officer and soldier of the detachment, but which could not be avoided.

The number of the enemy killed, was 186, that were counted, and a number of others that were killed in the weeds not found. I think the calculation a reasonable one, to say 200 of them were killed, and 84 prisoners of women and children, were taken ; not one of the warriors escaped to carry the news, a circumstance unknown heretofore.

We lost 5 men killed, and 41 wounded, none mortally, the greater part slightly, a number with arrows ; this appears to form a very principal part of the enemy's arms for warfare, every man having a bow with a bundle of arrows, which is used after the first fire with the gun, until a leisure time for loading offers.

It is with pleasure I say that our men acted with deliberation and firmness—notwithstanding our numbers were superiour to that of the enemy, it was a circumstance to us unknown, and from the parade of the enemy we had every reason to suppose them our equals in number : but there appeared no visible traces of alarm in any, but on the contrary all appeared cool and determined, and no doubt when they face a foe of their own, or superiour number, they will show the same courage as on this occasion.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN COFFEE.
Brig. Gen. of Cavalry and Riflemen.

MAJ. GEN. ANDREW JACKSON.

Killed, 5 privates.

Wounded, 4 captains, 2 lieutenants, 2 cornets, 3 sergeants, 5 corporals, 1 artificer, 24 privates. Total killed and wounded, 46.

In this report, the reader will readily see, that while general Coffee is gratified at communicating an account of a victory, he is grieved at some of the circumstances attending it. "Not one," he says, "asked to be spared"—and without asking quarter, and continuing to fight, they could *not* be spared. The regret expressed at killing and wounding some of the women and children, mingled with the warriors, and which could not be avoided, shews that brave men are always humane.

CHAPTER VI.

Tennessee forces—Collisions in armies—Establishment of Fort Strother--Perilous situation of friendly Creeks—Dispatch to Gen. White—his conduct—Battle of *Talladega*—Gen. Jackson's account of it.

AT the commencement of the campaign, in the Creek nation, in 1813, the Tennessee forces, Militia and Volunteers, that were called into service, consisted of two divisions—one of West Tennessee, commanded by Maj. Gen. Jackson, the other of East Tennessee, commanded by Maj. Gen. Cocke. The division of the Tennessee forces seemed to be governed by the division which nature has made of this state by the range of the Cumberland mountains, running from north to south. Maj. Gen. Thomas Pinckney, of the United States' army, was commander in chief of the military district in which these troops were raised and organized.

Whether it was designed by the Executive of Tennessee that the two divisions of its forces should act in concert, or remain two distinct corps, acting independently of each other, cannot positively be determined by the writer. The first is altogether the most probable; indeed it is rendered almost certain from the course pursued by Gen. Jackson. It cannot for a moment be supposed, that a man who had so long been in public life—filling exalted and highly responsible stations in the civil and military departments, would arrogate to himself an authority which was not expressly, or by the fairest implication, bestowed upon him. He issued orders to the division under Gen. Cocke. The unfortunate collisions, misunderstandings, and jealousies which for a time obstructed, and nearly thwarted the important and hazardous expedition into the country of the Creeks, though reluctantly, must necessarily be alluded to, to show the course pursued by Gen. Jackson.

Although the patriot will lament the existence of feuds in a patriotic army, let it be remembered they were not confined to the militia in the last war—nor to those between the militia of the states, and the national forces; but that they existed in some departments of the United States' army itself. The northern campaign of 1813, is not forgotten, nor the "*Failure of our arms on the Northern Frontier*" erased from recollection. Gen. *Wilkinson* declares in a General Order—"The Commander in Chief is compelled to retire, [from the Canadian shore,] by the extraordinary, unexampled, and it appears, unwarrantable conduct of Maj. Gen. *Hampton*, in refusing to join this army with a division of 4000 men under his command, agreeable to positive orders from the Commander in Chief."

The brilliant victory at Tallushatches, and the total defeat of the savages, from which, to use the language of Gen. Coffee, "*not one of the warriors* *escaped to tell the news*," induced Gen. Jackson to take the most efficient measures to follow up the encouraging success the army had met with, by more important operations. To accomplish this, he sent an express upon Nov. 4th, (the date of his first official account,) to Brig. Gen. *White* of Gen. *Cocke's* division, who was only twenty-five miles distant, ordering him with the troops in his command, to form a junction with him at *Fort Strother*, which he had established as a depot. His object in forming this junction was to augment his forces to such an amount, as to enable him to go forward with confidence in attacking the enemy, and leave a force in the rear sufficient to protect the sick, and guard the baggage. Although he had twice before sent similar orders, not a word of intelligence was received from him. Upon the 7th, he dispatched *another* express. Upon this day information was received by Gen. Jackson, that a fortress of friendly Indians at *Talladega*, thirty miles distant from Fort Strother, was in imminent danger of total destruction, and the natives to indiscriminate massacre, by the hostile Creeks. They had espoused the cause of the Americans; and of course had incurred all the vengeful malice which natural ferocity, increased by religious fanaticism, could feel towards them. They were surrounded by a numerous body of infuriated Creeks. Their runners beseeched Gen. Jackson to relieve them from their perilous situation. The same sentiment that induced the general to hazard his reputation in protecting his countrymen at Natchez, induced him, without hesitation, to extend protection to those faithful natives, whose fate was identified with the success, or the defeat of the American arms. He commenced his march, cammanding in person, at 12 o'clock in the evening. He dispatched *another* express to Gen. White, to repair that night to Fort Strother and protect it in his absence. To his inexpressible surprise, in a short time he received a message from him, that he had, agreeable to *his* order, commenced a march to Fort Strother, but that he had received counter orders from Maj. Gen. Cocke, to join *him* at *Chatuga* creek!—and that he should obey *him!*

A situation more embarrassing can hardly be imagined. His sick and baggage in his rear, liable every moment to destruction—the friendly Creeks in his front in momentary danger of annihilation. The hour of decision had come. Relying upon the gallantry of his troops—knowing the justice of his cause, and hoping for the protection of heaven, he rapidly advanced upon the enemy, ignorant of their force. The result I give in the general's own language.

MAJ. GEN. JACKSON to GOV. BLOUNT.

Camp Strother, near Ten Islands of Coosa,
Nov. 11th, 1813.

Sir—I am just returned from an excursion which I took a few days ago, and hasten to acquaint you with the result.

Late on the evening of the 7th inst. a runner arrived from the friendly party in Lashley's Fort, (Talladega) distant about 30 miles below us, with the information that the hostile Creeks, in great force, had encamped near the place, and were preparing to destroy it; and earnestly entreated that I would lose no time in affording them relief. Urged by their situation, as well as by a wish to meet the enemy so soon as an opportunity would offer, I determined upon commencing my march thither with all my disposable force, in the course of the night; and immediately dispatched an express to Gen. White, advising him of my intended movement, and urged him to hasten to this encampment by a forced march, in order to protect it in my absence. I had repeatedly written to the general, to form a junction with me as speedily as practicable, and a few days before had received his assurance, that on the 7th he would join me. I commenced crossing the river at the Ten Islands, leaving behind me my baggage waggons and whatever might retard my progress; and encamped that night within six miles of the fort I had set out to relieve. At midnight I had received by an Indian runner, a letter from Gen. White, informing me that he had received my order, but that he had altered his course, and was on his march backwards to join Major-Gen. Cocke, near the mouth of Chatuga. I will not now remark upon the strangeness of this manœuvre; but it was now too late to change my plan, or make any new arrangements; and between 3 and 4 o'clock, I recommenced my march to meet the enemy, who were encamped within a quarter of a mile of the fort. At sunrise we came within half a mile of them, and having formed my men, I moved on in battle order. The infantry were in three lines—the militia on the left, and the volunteers on the right. The cavalry formed the two extreme wings, and were ordered to advance in a *curve*, keeping their rear connected with the advance of their infantry lines, and enclose the enemy in a circle. The advanced guard whom I sent forward to bring on the engagement, met the attack of the enemy with great intrepidity; and having poured upon them four or five very galling rounds, fell back as they had been previously ordered, to the main army. The enemy pursued, and the front line was now ordered to advance and meet him; but owing to some misunderstanding, a few companies of militia, who composed a part of it, commenced a retreat. At this moment a corps of cavalry, commanded by Lieut. Col. Dyer, which I had kept as a reserve, was ordered to dismount, and fill up the vacancy occasioned by the retreat. This order was executed with a great deal of promptitude and effect. The militia seeing this, speedily rallied: and the fire became general along the front line, and on that part of the wings which was contiguous. The enemy, unable to stand it, began to retreat; but were met at every turn, and repulsed in every direction. The right wing chased them, with a most destructive fire, to the mountains, a distance of about three miles—and had I not been compelled by the *faux pas* of the militia in the outset of the battle, to dismount my reserve, I believe not a man of them would have escaped. The victory, however, was very decisive—290 of the enemy were left dead—and there can be no doubt but many more were killed who were not found. Wherever they ran, they left behind traces of blood ; and it is believed, that very few will return to their villages in as sound a condition as they left them. I was compelled to return to this place to protect the sick and wounded, and get my baggage on.

In the engagement, we lost 15 killed, and 85 wounded—2 of them have since died. All the officers acted with the utmost bravery, and so did all the privates, except that part of the militia who retreated at the commencement of the battle—and they hastened to atone for their error. Taking the whole together, they have realized the high expectations I had formed of them, and have fairly entitled themselves to the gratitude of their country.

ANDREW JACKSON.

His Excellency WILLIE BLOUNT, *Nashville.*

The following additional dispatch completes the account of the BATTLE of TALLADEGA.

Camp Strother, near Ten Islands, 15*th Nov.* 1813.

You will perceive from a draft which I shall send you, that had there been no departure from the original order of battle, not an Indian could have escaped ; and even as the battle did terminate, I believe that no impartial man can say that a more splendid result, has, in any instance attended our arms on land, since the commencement of the war. The force of the enemy is represented by themselves to have been 1080 ; and it does not appear from their fire and the space of ground which they occupied, that their number can have been less. Two hundred and ninety-nine were left dead on the ground ; and no doubt many more were killed who were not found. It is believed that very few escaped without a wound. In a very few weeks, if I had a sufficiency of supplies, I am thoroughly convinced I should be able to put an end to Creek hostilities.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the advance, led on by Col. Carrol, for the spirited manner in which they commenced and sustained the attack ; nor upon the reserve, commanded by Lieut Col. Dyer, and composed of Captains Smith's, Morton's, Axum's, Edward's, and Hammond's companies, for the gallantry with which they met and repulsed the enemy. In a word, officers of every grade, as well as the privates, realized the high expectations I had formed of them, and merit the gratitude of their country.

I should be doing injustice to my staff, composed of Majors Reid and Searcy, my aids Col. Sitler and Major Anthony, Adjutant, and assistant Adjutant-

General; Col. Carrol, Inspector-General; Major Strother, topographer; Mr. Cunningham, my secretary; and Col. Stokey D. Haynes, Quarter-Master-General; not to say that they were every where in the midst of danger, circulating my orders. They deserve and receive my thanks.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON.

In reading this account of the *second* victory obtained over the Creeks, it cannot have escaped the notice of the reader, with what delicacy the general mentions the retreat of a part of his force, and with what readiness he endeavours to exculpate them from censure, by saying—"*they hastened to atone for their error.*" This retreat, however, had a most pernicious effect. It tended to excuse subsequent retreats, and to encourage the desponding hopes of the Indian warriors. When they *once* saw an assailing enemy shrink from a sanguinary combat, they expected to see it *again.*

CHAPTER VII.

Consequences of Brig. Gen. White's conduct—*Hillabees* sue for peace to Gen. Jackson—Gen. White destroys their towns—Measures of the Georgia Legislature—Victory at *Autoussee*—Brig. Gen. Floyd's account of it—Gen. Jackson's situation in December, 1813—Mutiny among his troops—also in Gen. Coffee's Brigade—dismissal of both.

IN consequence of the refusal of Brig. Gen. White to form a junction with Gen. Jackson, or to repair to Fort Strother in his absence, he was compelled to relinquish his intentions of carrying the war *forward* into the Indian territories, and to return *back* with his wounded to that fortress. This conduct of Gen. White, acting under Maj. Gen. Cocke, was productive of a double disadvantage, and a double injury—it prolonged the war with the Creeks, and compelled those of them who wished for peace, to continue to fight.

The *Hillabee* tribes, after the signal victory at *Talladega*, were solicitous to make peace with Gen. Jackson, and the United States. He was as ready to negociate as to conquer; but before any terms could be made, Gen. White attacked them —and, while they were preparing to bury the tomahawk, they were compelled to wield it. Supposing that the forces under Gen. White, were a part of Gen. Jackson's army, and that while they were sueing for peace, to be assailed by a superiour force, was unjustifiable duplicity, they became more enraged than ever. Desperation took the place of timidity, and, during the remainder of the war, the Hillabees never asked quarter, nor granted it. They fought with the raging fury of maniacs ; and each one seemed to have become a " *Son of Alknomok, who scorn'd to complain*"—they asked no favours, and extended no mercy.

General White destroyed the Hillabee towns as he entered them by conflagration. The first town was *Little Oakfuskie*, of thirty houses ; the second *Genalga*, of ninety-three houses. *Nitty Choptoa*, to use his own language, he " considered it most prudent not to destroy, as it might possibly be of use at some future period." Upon the 18th November, he entered an Hillabee town, " consisting" as he says, " of *about* 316, [hostile Creeks,] of which number, *about* 60 warriors were killed on the spot, and the rest made prisoners." This town he also destroyed. In his report he says—" We lost not one drop of blood in accomplishing this enterprise." It is without a parallel, in Indian warfare, that so many warriors should be slain and captured, and " not one drop of blood" should be lost by the force assailing them ; and can be accounted for, perhaps upon no other principle, than that the *Hillabees* scorned to shed the blood of those to whom they were, at the very time, supplicating for peace ! The facts are before the reader—he must make his own inferences. It will surely be recollected that

Gen. Jackson, however sanguinary *necessity* compelled him to make the war after this period, had hitherto exercised a lenity toward the Creeks, almost inconsistent with energy. He had acted like an humane conqueror, who chose rather to conciliate a ruthless foe by mercy, than to exterminate them by the sword.

It has previously been stated, that the Creeks had determined to attack the frontiers of Georgia and Tennessee, simultaneously. Measures equally efficient with those adopted by the executive and legislature of Tennessee, were adopted by the executive and legislature of Georgia. His Excellency *Peter Early*, governour of that state, upon the 8th November, 1813, communicated to the Senate and House of Representatives, the information he had received of savage depredations and murders upon the frontiers. The legislature immediately authorized the governour, to cause the frontiers to be put in a state of defence, and to send a sufficient force into the heart of the Creek country. As the executive and military powers of Georgia acted in concert with Gen. Jackson, the measures pursued by them must necessarily be alluded to.

Brig. Gen. *John Floyd*, commanded the Georgia Militia. The victory obtained by him at *Autoussee* upon the *Talapoosa* river, was a signal advantage to the American arms. It tended to increase the fears of the Creeks, and to hasten the conquest of their country. Sensible that no description of this battle will be so gratifying to the reader, as that given by the accomplished commander of the gallant troops who achieved the victory, I present it in the language of the general to Gov. Early.

"Having received information that numbers of the hostile Indians were assembled at *Autoussee*, a town on the southern bank of the Talapoosa, about 18 miles from the Hickory Ground, and 20 above the junction of that river with the Coosa, I proceeded to its attack, with 950 of the Georgia militia, accompanied by between 3 and 400 friendly Indians. Having encamped within nine or ten miles of the point of destination the preceding evening, we resumed the march, a few minutes before one on the morning of the 29th, and at half past six were formed for action in front of the town.

Booth's battalion composed the right column, and marched from its centre. Watson's battalion composed the left, and marched from its right—Adams' rifle company, and Merriwether's under Lieut. Hendon, were on the flanks—Capt. Thomas' artillery marched in front of the right column in the road.

It was my intention to have completely surrounded the enemy, by *appaying* the right wing of my force, on Canleebee Creek, at the mouth of which I was informed the town stood, and resting the left on the river bank below the town, but to our surprise, as the day dawned, we perceived a second town about 500 yards below that which we had first viewed, and were preparing to attack. The plan was immediately changed—three companies of infantry on the left were wheeled into *echellon*, and advanced to the low town, accompanied by Merriwether's rifle company, and two troops of light dragoons under the command of Captains Irwin and Steele.

The residue of the force approached the upper town, and the battle soon became general. The Indians presented themselves at every point, and fought with the desperate bravery of real fanatics. The well directed fire, however, of the artillery, added to the charge of the bayonet, soon forced them to take refuge in the out-houses, thickets, and copses, in rear of the town; many, it is believed, concealed themselves in caves, previously formed for the purpose of secure retreat, in the high bluff of the river, which was thickly covered with reed and brush wood. The Indians of the friendly party who accompanied us on the expedition, were divided into four companies, and placed under the command of leaders of their selection. They were, by engagement entered into the day previous, to have crossed the river above the town, and been posted on the opposite shore during the action, for the purpose of firing on such of the enemy as might attempt to escape, or keep in check any reinforcement which might probably be thrown in from the neighbouring town; but owing to the difficulty of the ford, and coldness of the weather, and the lateness of the hour, this arrangement failed, and their leaders were directed to cross Cauleebee creek, and occupy that flank, to prevent escapes from the Tallassee town. Some time after the action commenced, our red friends thronged in disorder in the rear of our lines. The Cowetaws under M'Intosh, and Tookaubatchians under the Mad Dog's Son, fell in on our flanks, and fought with an intrepidity worthy of any troops.

At 9 o'clock, the enemy was completely driven from the plain, and the houses of both towns wrapped in flames. As we were then 60 miles from any depot of provisions, and our five days' rations pretty much reduced, in the heart of an enemy's country, which, in a few moments, could have poured from its numerous towns, hosts of the fiercest warriors—as soon as the dead and wounded were properly disposed of, I ordered the place to be abandoned, and the troops to commence their march to Chatahouchie.

It is difficult to determine the strength of the enemy, but from the information of some of the chiefs, which it is said can be relied on, there were assembled at Autoussee, warriors from eight towns, for its defence, it being their beloved ground, on which they proclaimed no white man could approach without inevitable destruction. It is difficult to give a precise account of the loss of the enemy;

but from the number which were lying scattered over the field, together with those destroyed in the towns, and the many slain on the bank of the river, which respectable officers affirm they saw laying in heaps at the water's edge, where they had been precipitated by their surviving friends, their loss in killed, independent of their wounded, must have been at least 200, [among whom were the Autoussee and Tallassee kings] and from the circumstance of their making no efforts to molest our return, probably greater. The number of buildings burnt, some of a superiour order for the dwellings of savages, and filled with valuable articles, is supposed to be 400.

Adjt. Gen. Newnan rendered important services during the action, by his cool and deliberate courage. My aid, Major Crawford, discharged with promptitude the duties of a brave and meritorious officer. Maj. Pace, who acted as field aid, also distinguished himself; both these gentlemen had their horses shot under them, and the latter lost his. Dr. Williamson, hospital surgeon, and Dr. Clopton, were prompt and attentive in the discharge of their duty towards the wounded, during the action.

Major Freeman, at the head of Irwin's troop of cavalry, and part of Steele's, made a furious and successful charge upon a body of Indians, sabred several, and completely defeated them; Capt. Thomas and his company, Capt. Adams and Lieut. Hendon's rifle companies, killed a great many Indians, and deserve particular praise : Capt Barton's company was in the hottest of the battle, and fought like soldiers. Capt. Myric, Capt. Little, Capt. King, Capt Broadnax, Capt. Cleveland, Capt. Joseph T. Cunningham, and Capt. Lee, with their companies, distinguished themselves. Brig. Gen. Shackleford was of great service in bringing the troops into action ; and Adjt. Broadnax, and Major Montgomery, who acted as assistant Adjutant, showed great activity and courage. Major Booth used his best endeavours in bringing his battalion to action, and Maj. Watson's battalion acted with considerable spirit. Irwin's, Patterson's, and Steele's troops of cavalry, whenever an opportunity presented, charged with success. Lieut. Strong had his horse shot, and narrowly escaped, and Quarter Master Tennell displayed the greatest heroism, and miraculously escaped, though badly wounded, after having his horse shot from under him. The topographical engineer was vigilant in his endeavours to render service.

The troops deserve the highest praise for their fortitude in enduring hunger, cold, and fatigue, without a murmur, having marched 120 miles in seven days.

The friendly Indians lost several killed and wounded, the number not exactly known. Capt. Barton, an active and intelligent officer, (the bearer of these dispatches) can more particularly explain to your excellency the conduct, movements, and operations of the army."

The importance of this victory may be duly appreciated, when it is considered, that besides the death of two kings, and two hundred warriors—double that number wounded—and four hundred superiour Indian residences destroyed; the religious charm that had led them on to desperation, was dissolved. Upon "*their beloved ground on which they proclaimed no white man could approach, without inevitable destruction*," they saw their chiefs and warriors fall—their houses consume, and the *whites* lose but *eleven* men.

It is a little singular that Gen. Floyd should mention every officer that was wounded, and even every officer's horse that was killed, and omit to mention, that he was very badly wounded himself. A brave man is always modest in regard to his own merits; but the general seemed to have that modesty, which may be denominated, false, in omitting this in his official report.

While these interesting events were taking place in one part of the Creek country, Gen. Jackson was placed in a most unpleasant, not to say perilous, situation, at Fort Strother. His volunteers, who had become familiar with service, by descending the Mississippi the preceding campaign, and who, with the Tennessee militia, had become familiar with victory over the Creeks, began to look toward *home*, for the ease and tranquillity of private life, and to the ordinary pursuits of private business, as the means of advancing private interest. No man in the service had more reasons to wish and pant for retirement, than Gen. Jackson. His solicitude as commander—his extremely debilitated state of health—the disaffection of his men—the deficiency of supplies for his army—the conduct of the East Tennessee militia, under Gen. Cocke, and the open mutiny of some part of his army, presented a tissue of discouraging considerations, which would have disheartened a man of more than ordinary fortitude. Had he retired from the service of his country at this time, he would have retired with honour and with approbation. But he believed, and he acted upon the principle, that until "*all was done, nothing was done.*" He knew that the hopes of the frontier settlers of Tennessee and Georgia were fixed upon him; he knew that they had derived encouragement from his successes, and that from his exertions they hoped to be placed in a state of permanent security. Having encountered and overcome difficulties before, he resolved to encounter them again, for he was now in the midst of them.

The "Tennessee Volunteers" claimed to be discharged on the ground of having served *one* year out of *two*, from the time they were organized. Many of the officers, who belonged to this corps, deserted the ground they ought to have maintained as soldiers, and resorted to arguments which would have disgraced pettifoggers. Although they had not served a year, they had for that period been organized, and they were very much disposed to give weight to arguments which coincided with their inclinations. They resolved to leave a wilderness where they were surrounded by implacable enemies; exposed to severe privations, and in expectation of enduring the dreadful horrors of famine. Gen. Jackson exerted every faculty to arouse their desponding spirits. He appealed to the pride of the volunteers, by reminding them of the expedition to Natchez, and of the victories which they, and the militia, had gained over the Creeks. He appealed to the sensibility of them all, by representing the danger of their fathers and mothers, their wives and children. He alluded to the massacre at Fort Mimms, in Mississippi, and endeavoured to arouse their revenge. He endeavoured to excite their vanity, by speaking of the fame the "Tennessee Volunteers" had acquired at *Tallushatches* and *Talladega*. But every avenue to persuasion was closed. The cogent addresses of the general, were lost upon the apathy of the soldiers, and the volunteers became mutineers. The general laid aside the language of entreaty and assumed that of command. He prevented, at the hazard of his life, the departure of the troops; but soon found that an army which required one half of it to guard the other, had no efficiency. He ordered them to be marched home, and to be disposed of by the President, or the Governour of Tennessee.

It was now about the middle of December. Gen. Cocke, had for the first time joined Gen. Jackson; but upon finding the time for which *his* men were enlisted, had nearly expired, and that he could not hope from patriotism, what he could not enforce by power, he ordered Gen. Cocke to march his troops home. But few troops now remained with Gen. Jackson. Soon after the battle of Talladega, Brig. Gen. Coffee's mounted volunteers and cavalry, were permitted to retire into the settlements, to recruit their horses. They were to rendezvous at Huntsville, in Mississippi, upon the 8th December, where Gen. Coffee was dangerously sick. Upon this excellent officer and his gallant men, Gen. Jackson placed the most confident reliance. They rendezvoused upon the 18th; but they had caught the infection that pervaded the infantry—the fever of private life. They however proceeded toward head-quarters; but they were no longer "*the men they were*." It must always be admitted, that they had already rendered essential service to their country, and it was the reputation they had acquired, that rendered it desirable to have them continue in the service. Gen. Jackson, seconded in all his views by the gallant Coffee, and by many patriots of the first water, exerted again his great powers; but exerted them in vain. Gov. Blount ordered the volunteers to be *dismissed*, and they returned home.

CHAPTER VIII.

General Jackson's situation at the commencement of 1814—his hopes revive—Victory at *Eccanachaca*, or Holy Ground—Witherford, the Indian Prophet—Col. Carrol joins Gen Jackson—Victories at *Emuckfaw*, Jan. 22d—at *Enotachopco*, the 24th—Gen. Jackson's official report of them—Applause bestowed upon soldiers.

GEN. JACKSON was now in a situation which required all the fortitude of the man—all the nerve of the soldier, and all the sagacity of the statesman. He held frequent communications with Gov. Blount of Tennessee, Gov. Early of Georgia, and Maj. Gen. Pinckney; and *his* opinion seemed to be a guide for *their's*. Certain it is, that Gov. Blount, toward the close of 1813, owing to the disaffection of the Tennessee troops, and the reluctance with which volunteers appeared, recommended an abandonment of the expedition into the Creek country. The urgent and cogent expostulations of Gen. Jackson, induced him to change his opinion, and to resort to the most energetic measures to prosecute the war which had been so successfully commenced by him.

Perhaps the situation of Gen. Jackson, at this time, cannot be better described than it is in the following letter, written by a gentleman, known by the author to be of the first respectability.

Huntsville, M. T. Dec. 23, 1813.

" Since the battle of Tallushatches and Talladega, the army of Gen. Jackson has crumbled to pieces. The whole of his volunteer infantry are returning home—insisting that their time of service expired on the 10th of this month, being the aniversary of their rendezvous at Nashville. The general, however, did not discharge them ; the decision is left with the governour of Tennessee. What he will do, is not yet known. The universal impression, however, is, that they will be discharged. Yet nothing is more clear than that they have *not served* 12 months—and they were, by law, to serve 12 months in a period of 2 years, unless sooner discharged. The general's force now at fort Strother, Ten Islands of Coosa, may amount to about 1500 men, chiefly drafted militia. Of these, nearly the whole will be entitled to discharge about the 4th of the ensuing month. It is supposed that not more than 150, or 200, (who are attached to the general personally, and will remain through motives of affection,) will be left with him after that day. Doubtless you know that the brigade of cavalry volunteers and mounted riflemen under the command of Gen. Coffee, were some time since ordered into the settlements to recruit their horses for a few days, and procure new ones. About half, perhaps 800, appeared at the day and place of rendezvous ; but of these not more than 600 would consent to go on after the 10th. About *half* of this last number were of the *old* volunteer cavalry, the rest mounted men, newly raised. The first will certainly return with the volunteer infantry, their term commencing and expiring together. The last claim a discharge at the expiration of three months from the day they were mustered into service ; which must be nearly out. We may say, then, that all these are gone too. Yet Gen. Jackson has very recently received an order from Gen. Pinckney, to garrison and maintain every inch of ground he gains. And although all active exertions of the campaign seem to be paralised, I still hope this may, and will be done. Gen. Cocke is now in East Tennessee, endeavouring to collect a new levy; as to his success we know nothing. But Gen. *Roberts*, from West Tennessee, passed through our county three days ago, and has just crossed the river with about 250 men. Col. Carrol, inspector-general of this army, arrived to day with a force of 5 or 600, and 4 companies are proposed to be sent from this county. How long these men are to serve, I know not—not longer I fancy than three months. I trust, however, that this system of short service, wretched as it is inefficient, and expensive above all others, will yet enable Jackson to occupy till spring the ground he has won. Perhaps the return of moderate weather. and great efforts meanwhile, may collect around his banner, an army sufficient to effect the complete discomfiture and prostration of the Creek power. This, however, will be every day a work of greater difficulty. The English have already appeared in force at Pensacola, 7 sail having troops on board, besides two bomb vessels. Orleans will be menaced. Mobile is considered in great danger. The force on the Tombigbee waters, and the 3d regiment ascending the Alabama, will be called to its defence. This gives the Creeks breathing time, and lessens the force destined to crush them. Augustine, too, will doubtless be occupied by British troops ; and from these points, arms, amunition, and perhaps men and leaders, will be pushed to the aid of the Upper and Middle Creeks. The Siminoles and the runaway negroes among them, may be turned loose upon the sea coast of Georgia."

To experienced officers and soldiers, who know the importance of efficient authority in a commander, and the necessity of strict obedience in an army, the circumstances in which Gen. Jackson was placed, would be considered as calculated to excite apprehensions, if not discouragement. His army was an anomaly in military tactics. It would remind a spectator of a board of actors at a theatre, who individually entered the stage—performed the part of a commedian or a tragedian, and made each one his exit, as whim or fancy dictated—and returned at the call of the manager, or disappeared forever.

The firmness, the constancy, and the courage of Gen. Jackson, increased as the prospects of success diminished. As to his enemies, the Creeks, he was ready to meet them with almost any disparity of force. To meet them was to conquer them. But to see his friends disheartened, and his secret enemies plotting his discomfiture, was "*the unkindest cut of all*," and would have justified him in exclaiming, with a most pathetic bard—

"The shaft that deepest in my bosom went,
"Flew from the bow pretended friendship bent."

General Jackson found every appeal he made to the patriotism of the troops, when the day of discharge arrived, wholly fruitless, and he no longer attempted to detain them. It was to him a source of real consolation, however, that a number of personal friends and accomplished officers, remained true to him, to their country, and to their God. From them, he knew he should derive every assistance in preparing the new recruits, who were assembling at Huntsville, in Mississippi, and who had not become infected with mutiny.

As the most impervious darkness is said to pervade the horizon immediately before the dawn of day, so when the darkest clouds of adversity enveloped Gen. Jackson, and his few patriotic associates, the most cheering reverse of fortune was at hand.

Although there was no immediate connection between the volunteers upon the *Alabama* river, under the command of Brig. Gen. Claiborne, yet the forces under each, as well as those under the gallant Gen. Floyd, all acted in concert. Gen. Jackson was constantly advised of their movements, and constantly exerting himself to relieve them. He had no wish to monopolize the glory of conquering the most warlike tribe of barbarians in the universe. He wished for no laurels, but the gratitude of his countrymen, for the protection which he and other gallant officers and soldiers, might secure for them.

About the 1st January, 1814, he received the animating intelligence that Gen. Claiborne had acheived an important victory upon the Alabama, more than one hundred miles above Fort Stoddart, his head quarters. The town where the battle was fought, was called *Eccanachaca*, or *Holy Ground.* It was the residence of *Witherford*, *Francis*, and *Sinquister*, principal prophets. It was built since the commencement of hostilities as a place of security for the natives, and as a depot for provisions. Like *Autoussee*, it was deemed the grave of white men. Upon the 23d December, it was attacked ; between thirty and forty warriors were slain ; the whole town, of 200 houses, destroyed, and an immense quantity of provisions taken. The town being surrounded by swamps and deep ravines, facilitated the escape of the savages from the pursuit of the Americans. The next day, a town of sixty houses, about eight miles above the holy ground, was destroyed ; together with three distinguished Indians, and all the Indian's boats.

Witherford, the Indian Prophet just mentioned, was the commander of the Indians, in their furious and murderous attack upon Fort Mimms, at *Tensaw* settlement, in Mississippi. He narrowly escaped capture, and continued to fight with the rage of a fanatic, the fury of a dæmon, and the diabolical ferocity of a devil incarnate, until, saturated with the blood of Americans, and witnessing the almost total extinction of his own tribe, he voluntarily and dauntlessly, flung himself into the hands of Gen. Jackson, and demanded his protection. He will again be mentioned.

While these interesting events were transpiring upon the Alabama, a newly organized corps were raising in Tennessee and Mississippi, to resort to the standard of Gen. Jackson, who were designed, with those who should follow them, to put an end to the most sanguinary war which savage vengeance, aided by British gold, and Spanish perfidy, ever prosecuted.

A gallant officer now commenced his military career, which was consummated at New Orleans, by a crown of unfading laurels—Col. CARROLL. He proceeded to Fort Strother upon the 2d January, 1814, to concert measures with Gen. Jackson. They were concerted, and executed with a celerity which may well astonish the veteran marshals of Europe.

It would be unpardonable in the authour to attempt to detail them in his own language, since he has it in his power, to present the reader with the deeply interesting official report which follows.

MAJ GEN. JACKSON, of *Tennessee Volunteers*,	to	MAJ GEN. PINCKNEY, of the *U. S. Army*.

Head Quarters, Fort Strother, Jan. 29, 1814.

Maj. Gen. Thomas Pinckney,

Sir—I had the honour of informing you in a letter of the 31st ult. [express] of an excursion I contemplated making still further in the enemy's country, with the new raised volunteers from Tennessee. I had ordered these troops to form a junction with me on the 10th inst. but they did not arrive until the 14th. Their number, including officers, was about 800, and on the 15th, I marched them across the river to graze their horses. On the next day I followed with the remainder of my force, consisting of the artillery company, with one six pounder, one company of infantry of 48 men, two companies of spies commanded by Capts. Gordon and Russell, of about 30 men each, and a company of volunteer officers, headed by Gen. Coffee, who had been abandoned by his men, and who still remained in the field awaiting the orders of the government; making my force, exclusive of Indians, nine hundred and thirty.

The motives which influenced me to penetrate still farther into the enemy's country, with this force, were many and urgent. The term of service of the new raised volunteers was short, and a considerable part of it was expired ; they were expensive to the government, and were full of ardour to meet the enemy. The ill effects of keeping soldiers of this description long stationary and idle, I had been made to feel but too sensibly already—other causes concurred to make such a movement not only justifiable, but absolutely necessary. I had received a letter from Capt. M'Alpin, of the 5th inst. who commanded at Fort Armstrong in the absence of Col. Snodgrass, informing me that 14 or 15 towns of the enemy, situated on the waters of the Tallapoosa, were about uniting their forces, and attacking that place, which had been left in a very feeble state of defence. You had in your letter of the 24th ult. informed me that Gen. Floyd was about to make a movement to the Tallapoosa, near its junction with the Coosa ; and in the same letter, had recommended temporary excursions against such of the enemy's towns, or settlements, as might be within striking distance, as well to prevent my men from becoming discontented, as to harass the enemy. Your ideas corresponded exactly with my own, and I was happy in the opportunity of keeping my men engaged, distressing the enemy, and at the same time making a diversion to facilitate the operations of Gen. Floyd.

Determined by these and other considerations, I took up the line of march on the 17th inst. and on the 18th, encamped at Talladega Fort, where I was joined by between 2 and 300 friendly Indians : 65

of whom were Cherokees, the balance Creeks. Here I received your letter of the 9th inst. stating that Gen. Floyd was expected to make a movement from Cowetau the next day; and that in 10 days thereafter he would establish a firm position at Tuckbatchee; and also a letter from Col. Snodgrass, who had returned to Fort Armstrong, informing me that an attack was intended to be soon made on that Fort, by 900 of the enemy. If I could have hesitated before, I could now hesitate no longer. I resolved to lose no time in meeting this force, which was understood to have been collected from New Yorcau, Oakfuskie, and Ufauley towns, and were concentrated in a bend of the Tallapoosa, near the mouth of a creek, called Emuckfau, and on an Island below New Yorcau.

On the morning of the 20th your letter of the 10th inst. forwarded by M'Candles, reached me at the Hillabee Creek; and that night I encamped at Enotachopco, a small Hillabee village, about twelve miles from Emuckfau. Here I began to perceive very plainly how little knowledge my spies had of the country, of the situation of the enemy, or of the distance I was from them. The insubordination of the new troops, and the want of skill in most of their officers, also became more and more apparent. But their ardour to meet the enemy was not diminished; and I had a sure reliance upon the guards, and upon the company of old volunteer officers, and upon the spies, in all about 125. My wishes and my duty remained united, and I was determined to effect, if possible, the objects for which the excursion had been principally undertaken.

On the morning of the 21st, I marched from Enotachopco, as direct as I could for the bend of the Tallapoosa, and about 2 o'clock, P. M. my spies having dicovered two of the enemy, endeavoured to overtake them, but failed. In the evening I fell in upon a large trail, which led to a new road, much beaten, and lately travelled. Knowing that I must have arrived within the neighbourhood of a strong force, and it being late in the day, I determined to encamp, and reconnoitre the country in the night. I chose the best scite the country would admit, encamped in a hollow square, sent out my spies and pickets, doubled my sentinels, and made the necessary arrangements before dark, for a night attack. About 10 o'clock at night, one of the pickets fired at three of the enemy, and killed one, but he was not found until the next day. At eleven o'clock the spies whom I had sent out, returned with the information, that there was a large encampment of Indians at the distance of about three miles, who from their whooping and dancing, seemed to be apprized of our approach. One of these spies, an Indian in whom I had great confidence, assured me that they were carrying off their women and children, and that the warriors would either make their escape, or attack me before day. Being prepared at all points, nothing remained to be done but to await their approach, if they meditated an attack, or to be in readiness, if they did not, to pursue and attack them at day light. While we were in this state of readiness, the enemy about six o'clock in the morning, commenced a vigorous attack on my left flank, which was vigorously met; the action continued to rage on my left flank, and on the left of my rear, for about half an hour. The brave Gen. Coffee, with Col. Sitler, the Adjt. Gen. and Col. Carroll, the Inspector-General, the moment the firing commenced, mounted their horses and repaired to the line, encouraging and animating the men to the performance of their duty. So soon as it became light enough to pursue, the left wing having sustained the heat of the action, and being somewhat weakened, was reinforced by Capt. Ferrill's company of infantry, and was ordered and led on to the charge by Gen. Coffee, who was well supported by Col. Higgins and the Inspector-General, and by all the officers and privates who composed that line. The enemy was completely routed at every point, and the friendly Indians joining in the pursuit, they were chased about two miles with considerable slaughter.

The chase being over, I immediately detached Gen. Coffee with 400 men, and all the Indian force, to burn their encampment; but it was said by some to be fortified. I ordered him, in that event, not to attack it until the artillery could be sent forward to reduce it. On viewing the encampment and its strength, the general thought it most prudent to return to my encampment, and guard the artillery thither. The wisdom of this step was soon discovered—in half an hour after his return to camp, a considerable force of the enemy made its appearance on my right flank, and commenced a brisk fire on a party of men, who had been on picket guard the night before, and were then in search of the Indians they had fired upon, some of whom they believed had been killed. Gen. Coffee immediately requested me to let him take 200 men, and turn their left flank, which I accordingly ordered; but, through some mistake, which I did not then observe, not more than 54 followed him, among whom were the old volunteer officers. With these, however, he immediately commenced an attack on the left flank of the enemy; at which time I ordered 200 of the friendly Indians, to fall in upon the right flank of the enemy, and co-operate with the general. This order was promptly obeyed, and on the moment of its execution, what I expected was realized. The enemy had intended the attack on the right as a feint, and, expecting to direct all my attention thither, meant to attack me again, and with their main force on the left flank, which they had hoped to find weakened and in disorder—they were disappointed. I had ordered the left flank to remain firm to its place, and the moment the alarm gun was heard in that quarter, I repaired thither, and ordered Capt. Ferrill, part of my reserve, to support it. The whole line met the approach of the enemy with astonishing intrepidity, and having given a few fires, they forthwith charged with great vigour—the effect was immediate and inevitable. The enemy fled with precipitation, and were pursued to a considerable distance, by the left flank and the friendly Indians, with a galling and destructive fire. Col. Carroll, who ordered the charge, led on the pursuit, and Col. Higgins and his regiment again distinguished themselves.

In the mean time, Gen. Coffee was contending with a superiour force of the enemy. The Indians who I had ordered to his support, and who had set out for this purpose, hearing the firing on the left, had returned to that quarter, and when the enemy were routed there, entered into the chase. That being now over, I forthwith ordered Jim Fife, who was one of the principal commanders of the friendly Creeks, with 100 of his warriors, to execute my first order. So soon as he reached Gen. Coffee, the charge was made, and the enemy routed; they were pursued about three miles, and 45 of them slain, who were found. Gen. Coffee was wounded in the body, and his aid-de-camp, A. Donaldson, killed, together with three others. Having brought in and buried the dead, and dressed the wounded, I ordered my camp to be fortified, to be the better prepared to repel any attack which might be made in the night, determined to make a return march to Fort Strother the following day. Many causes concurred to make such a measure necessary, as I had not set out prepared, or with a view to make a permanent establishment. I considered it worse than useless to advance, and destroy an empty encampment. I had, indeed, hoped to have met the enemy there, but having met and beaten them a little sooner, I did not think it necessary or prudent, to proceed any further—not necessary, because I had accomplished all I could expect to effect by marching to their encampment; and because if it was proper to contend with and weaken their forces still farther, this object would be more certainly attained, by commencing a return, which having to them the appearance of a retreat, would inspirit them to pursue me. Not prudent—because of the number of my wounded; of the reinforcements from below, which the enemy might be expected to receive; of the starving condition of my horses, they having had neither corn nor cane for two days and nights; of the scarcity of supplies for my men, the Indians who joined me at Talladega having drawn none, and being wholly destitute; and because, if the enemy pursued me, as it was likely they would, the diversion in favour of Gen. Floyd would be the more complete and effectual. Influenced by these considerations, I commenced my return march, at half after ten on the 23d, and was fortunate enough to reach Enotachopco before night, having passed without interruption, a dangerous defile occasioned by a hurricane. I again fortified my camp, and having another defile to pass in the morning, across a deep creek, and between two hills, which I had viewed with attention as I passed on, and where I expected I might be attacked, I determined to pass it at another point, and gave directions to my guide and fatigue men accordingly. My expectation of an attack in the morning was increased by the signs of the night, and with it my caution. Before I moved the wounded from the interiour of my camp, I had my front and rear guards formed, as well as my right and left columns, and moved off my centre in regular order, leading down a handsome ridge to Enotachopco creek, at a point where it was clear of reed, except immediately on its margin. I had previously issued a general order, pointing out the manner in which the men should be formed in the event of an attack on the front or rear, or on the flanks, and had particularly cautioned the officers, to halt and form accordingly, the instant the word should be given.

The front guard had crossed with part of the flank columns, the wounded were over, and the artillery in the act of entering the creek, when an alarm gun was heard in the rear. I heard it without surprise, and even with pleasure, calculating with the utmost confidence on the firmness of my troops, from the manner in which I had seen them act on the 22d. I had placed Col. Carroll at the head of the centre column of the rear guard; its right column was commanded by Col. Perkins, and its left by Col. Stump. Having chosen the ground, I expected there to have entirely cut off the enemy, by wheeling the right and left columns on their pivot, recrossing the creek above and below, and falling in upon their flanks and rear. But to my astonishment and mortification, when the word was given by Col. Carroll to halt and form, and a few guns had been fired, I beheld the right and left columns of the rear guard precipitately give way. This shameful retreat was disastrous in the extreme ; it drew along with it the greater part of the centre column, leaving not more than 25 men, who being formed by Col. Carroll, maintained their ground as long as it was possible to maintain it, and it brought consternation and confusion into the centre of the army, a consternation which was not easily removed, and a confusion which could not be soon restored to order. There was then left to repulse the enemy, the few who remained of the rear guard, the artillery company, and Capt. Russell's company of spies. They however, realized, and exceeded my highest expectations. Lieut. Armstrong, who commanded the artillery company in the absence of Capt. Deaderick, (confined by sickness,) ordered them to form and advance to the top of the hill, whilst he and a few others dragged up the six pounder. Never was more bravery displayed than on this occasion. Amidst the most galling fire from the enemy, more than ten times their number, they ascended the hill, and maintained their position until their piece was hauled up, when, having levelled it, they poured upon the enemy a fire of grape, reloaded and fired again, charged and repulsed them.

The most deliberate bravery was displayed by Constantine Perkins and Craven Jackson, of the artillery, acting as gunners. In the hurry of the moment, in separating the gun from the limbers, the rammer and picker of the cannon was left tied to the limber. No sooner was this discovered, than Jackson, amidst the galling fire of the enemy, pulled out the ramrod of his musket and used it as a picker; primed with a cartridge and fired the cannon. Perkins having pulled off his bayonet, used his musket as a rammer, drove down the cartridge; and Jackson using his former plan, again discharged her. The brave Lieut. Armstrong, just after the first fire of the cannon, with Capt. Hamilton, of E. Tennessee, Bradford and M'Gavock, all fell, the Lieut. exclaiming as he lay, "*my brave fellows, some of you may fall, but you must save the cannon.*" About this time, a number crossed the creek and entered into the chase. The brave Capt. Gordon of the spies, who rushed from the front, endeavoured to turn the flank of the enemy, in which he partially succeeded, and Col. Carroll, Col. Higgins, and Capt. Elliot and Pipkins, pursued the enemy for more than two miles, who fled in consternation, throwing away their packs.

and leaving 26 of their warriors dead on the field. This last defeat was decisive, and we were no more disturbed by their yells. I should do injustice to my feelings if I omitted to mention that the venerable Judge Cocke, at the age of 65, entered into engagement, continued the pursuit of the enemy with youthful ardour, and saved the life of a fellow soldier by killing his savage antagonist.

Our loss in this affair was —killed and wounded, among the former was the brave Capt. Hamilton from E. Tennessee, who had with his aged father and two others of his company, after the period of his engagement had expired, volunteered his services for this excursion, and attached himself to the artillery company. No man ever fought more bravely or fell more gloriously; and by his side fell with equal bravery and glory, Bird Evans of the same company. Capt. Quarles, who commanded the centre column of the rear guard, preferring death to the abandonment of his post, having taken a firm stand in which he was followed by 25 of his men, received a wound in his head of which he has since died.

In these several engagements, our loss was 20 killed and 75 wounded, 4 of whom have since died. The loss of the enemy cannot be accurately ascertained; 189 of their warriors were found dead; but this must fall considerably short of the number really killed. Their wounded can only be guessed at.

Had it not been for the unfortunate retreat of the rear guard in the affair of the 24th inst, I think I could safely have said, that no army of militia ever acted with more cool and deliberate bravery; undisciplined and inexperienced as they were, their conduct in the several engagements of the 22d, could not have been surpassed by regulars. No men ever met the approach of an enemy with more intrepidity, or repulsed them with more energy. On the 24th, after the retreat of the rear guard, they seemed to have lost all their collectedness, and were more difficult to be restored to order, than any troops I had ever seen. But this was no doubt, owing in a great measure, or altogether, to that very retreat, and ought rather to be ascribed to the want of conduct in many of their officers, than any cowardice in the men, who, on every occasion, have manifested a willingness to perform their duty, so far as they knew it.

All the effects which were designed to be produced by this excursion, it is believed *have* been produced. If an attack was meditated against Fort Armstrong, that has been prevented. If Gen. Floyd is operating on the east side of the Talapoosa, as I suppose him to be, a most fortunate diversion has been made in his favour. The number of the enemy has been diminished, and the confidence they may have derived from the delays I have been made to experience, has been destroyed. Discontent has been kept out of my army, while the troops who would have been exposed to it, have been beneficially employed. The enemy's country has been explored, and a road cut to the point where their force will probably be concentrated, when they shall be driven from the country below. But in a report of this kind, and to you, who will immediately perceive them, it is not necessary to state the happy consequences which may be expected to result from this excursion. Unless I am greatly mistaken, it will be found to have hastened the termination of the Creek war, more effectually than any measure I could have taken with the troops under my command. I am, Sir, with sentiments of high respect, Your Obedient Servant,

ANDREW JACKSON, Maj. Gen.

When it is considered what troops Gen. Jackson had to command, and what enemies he had to fight, the *two* victories at *Emuckfau*, on the 22d, and the signal one of *Enotachopco*, on the 24th, will bear a comparison with any in modern warfare. The liberal applause the general bestows upon the brave, and the excuse he finds for those whose "*retreat ought rather to be ascribed to the want of conduct in many of their officers, than to any cowardice in the men*," must endear him forever to the soldier. The "*venerable Judge Cocke*," (who survived,) and "*the brave Lieut Armstrong*," and Capts. Hamilton and Quarles, (who all fell,) are placed, by the general's report, upon the rolls of fame.

CHAPTER IX.

Gen. Jackson prepares for a new expedition—receives an account of the victory at *Chatahouchee*—adopts a new mode to obtain supplies—Army Contractors—Energetic measures—Great victory at *Tohopeka*—Savage warfare—British and Spanish emissaries.

THE solicitude evinced by Gen. Jackson, in his report incorporated in the last chapter, for the safety, security, and success of Gen. Floyd, could not have escaped the attention of the reader. It must have been greatly diminished by the signal victories he therein so perspicuously describes; but this did not induce him to remit any of his customary vigilance, or to omit any measure necessary to secure the advantage he had gained. He had "*scotched the snake—not killed him.*"

Gen. Jackson had now with him, his beloved associates, Brig. Gen. Coffee, Col. Dyer, Col. Carroll, Maj. Reid, (his aid,) and many other accomplished and patriotic officers. The disaffected officers had either retired to that obscurity which was their only safety, or remained envious spectators of that excellence which they could not reach, and detractors of those great men, whose gallant exploits they had not the courage to achieve. He had a band of new volunteers, who had suddenly become veterans, and familiarized with victory. But still his force was inadequate to the complete accomplishment of his primary object—the effectual subjugation of the Creeks. He knew that the government of the American Republic had inviolably regarded all treaties made, and performed every stipulation entered into with them. He knew, and he lamented, the infatuation under which they acted, and regreted that a race of beings, possessing the most exalted courage, should become victims in subserving the cause of the British and Spanish monarchs. But his duty to his country was, with him, paramount to every other consideration ; and he was resolved, as long as the last glimmer of hope remained unextinguished, not to despair of the commonwealth.

After the victories of the 22d and 24th, he and his officers, were incessantly engaged in disciplining the forces with them, and incorporating into the little army, such recruits as arrived. These duties were entirely different, from those belonging to officers in the regular army, at a well appointed cantonment. There, the commanding and subordinate officers have specific duties to perform ; and the soldiers, so far from thinking of disobedience, or plotting mutinies, scarcely utter a complaint. Gen. Jackson had never yet commanded such a body of men, in such a situation. His subordinate officers had been his companions, and his volunteers had been his fellow citizens. He had depended more upon the weight of his character, and his devotion to the service, than upon military authority; to accomplish what he had done. He had, in many instances, found that the most urgent entreaties, and the most energetic remonstrances, were ineffectual, and was now resolved to exercise the authority which was vested in him.

While he was exerting every faculty which native energy and military authority, enabled him to call into operation, to prepare for more important measures, he was highly gratified at receiving the most favourable intelligence from the Georgia forces under Brig. Gen. Floyd.

That officer was stationed, with his troops, at Camp Defiance, fifty miles west of *Chatahouchee*. Upon the 27th January, he was assailed very early, by a numerous horde of savages. The sentinels were suddenly driven in, and a most desperate attack was commenced upon the lines. Gen. Floyd thus describes the engagement.

" The steady firmness and incessant fire of Capt. Thomas' artillery, and Capt. Adams' riflemen, preserved our front line : both of these suffered greatly. The enemy rushed within 30 yards of the artillery, and Capt. Broadnax, who commanded one of the picket guards, maintained his post with great bravery, until the enemy gained his rear, and then cut his way through them to the army. On this occasion, *Timpoochie Barnuel*, a half breed, at the head of the *Uchies*, distinguished himself, and contributed to the retreat of the picket guard : the other friendly Indians took refuge within our lines and remained inactive. with the exception of a few who joined our ranks. So soon as it became light enough to distinguish objects, I ordered Majors Watson's and Freeman's battalions, to wheel up at right angles, with Majors Booth's and Cleveland's battalions, (who formed the right wing,) to prepare for the charge. Capt. Duke Hamilton's cavalry, (who had reached me but the day before,) was ordered to form in the rear of the right wing, to act as circumstances should dictate. The order for the charge was promptly obeyed, and the enemy fled in every direction before the bayonet. The signal was given for the charge of the cavalry, who pursued, and sabred 15 of the enemy; who left 37 dead on the field. From the effusion of blood, and the number of head-dresses and war-clubs found in various directions, their loss must have been considerable, independent of the wounded.

I directed the friendly Indians, with Merriwether's and Ford's rifle companies, accompanied by Capt. Hamilton's troop, to pursue them through Callibee Swamp, where they were trailed by their blood, but succeeded in overtaking but one of their wounded.

Col. Newnan received three balls in the commencement of the action, which deprived me of the services of that gallant and useful officer. The assistant Adjt. Gen. Narden, was indefatigable in the discharge of his duty, and rendered important services: his horse was wounded under him. The whole of the staff was prompt, and discharged their duty with courage and fidelity: their vigilance, the intrepidity of the officers, and the firmness of the men, meet my approbation, and deserve the praise of their country. I have to regret the death of many of my brave fellows, who have found honourable graves in the voluntary support of their country.

My aid-de-camp, in executing my orders, had his horse killed under him. Gen. Lee and Maj. Pace, who acted as additional aids, rendered me essential services, with honour to themselves, and usefulness to the cause in which they have embarked. Four waggon, and several other horses were killed, and two of the artillery horses wounded. While I deplore the losses sustained on this occasion, I have the consolation to know, that the men who I have the honour to command, have done their duty."

The loss of the Americans in this battle, was 17 killed, and 132 wounded. Gen. Jackson found that one great object of his last brilliant expedition, was effected—the relief of the Georgia militia.

It was now the first of February, 1814. Gen. Jackson's forces were at Fort Strother, where, although in no immediate danger of famine, there was by no means a supply for any length of time. Gen. Jackson, ever since he had commanded the army in the Creek country, had had his attention diverted from the great object of a general—the organization of his army—the introduction of correct discipline, and preparation for active service.

indeed, he had to perform the duty of Commissary, Quarter-master, and Commander. Washington was often in this situation in the war of the Revolution. *He* could find an excuse for his countrymen, in the *then* destitute state of the country; but for the *contractors* for the southern army in 1814, there was no excuse. In a country abounding in beeves, swine, and bread stuffs, an army had often been driven to mutiny and desertion through the apprehension of want. There is, probably, not an officer in the American service, but who will condemn the mode of supplying an army by *contractors*. They make the best terms they can with the government for themselves; the hardest possible terms for the seller of provisions, and often furnish the war-worn veteran with rations deficient in quantity, and miserable in quality. They think of nothing but gaining a fortune, while the gallant soldiers who are suffering by their frauds, and famishing by their avarice, are gaining victories for their country.

Gen. Jackson, who may emphatically be called the Soldier's Patron, had suffered too much, with his brave soldiers, for longer endurance. He supplied his army by his own agents, leaving the contractors to pay the expence. When no longer any cause existed for complaints in his camp, he silenced them. He caused a mutineer to be tried by a court martial; and when condemned to die, he approved of the sentence, and he suffered death. He ordered every officer to be arrested within his command, who should be found exciting mutiny or disobedience. He knew that a crisis had arrived when a great blow must be struck, or the expedition abandoned.

The Creeks had assembled in very great force at the bend of the Tallapoosa, at a place called by the savages, *Tohopeka*—by the Americans, *The Horse Shoe.* At this place, the most desperate resistance, was expected; and every measure, within the limited means of Gen. Jackson, was resorted to, to meet it.

The 39th Regiment U. S. infantry, under the command of "*the intrepid and skilful Col. Williams,*" had been ordered to join the army under Gen. Jackson. It did not exceed 600 men. By the middle of March, his whole force amounted to between 3, and 4000. He then commenced his march. Upon the 21st, he established a fort at the mouth of Cedar Creek, and named it Fort *Williams.* Leaving a sufficient force to protect it, he renewed his march upon the 24th. Upon the 27th, a day which will be remembered in the traditional annals of the brave, the infatuated, the blood-thirsty Creeks, until they become extinct, Gen. Jackson and his army reached *Tohopeka.* The events of that day, are thus briefly detailed by the commander.

Battle Ground, bend of Talapoosa, 28th March, 1814.

Maj. Gen. Pinckney :—

Sir—I feel particularly happy in being able to communicate to you, the fortunate eventuation of my expedition to the Talapoosa. I reached the head, near the Emuckfau, called by the whites the Horse Shoe, about ten o'clock, on the forenoon of yesterday, where I found the strength of the neighbouring towns collected. Expecting our approach, they had gathered in from Oakfuskie, Oakehoga, New Yorcau, Hillibees, the Fish Pond, and Eufaulee towns, to the number, it is said, of 1000. It is difficult to conceive a situation more eligible for defence than the one they had chosen, or one rendered more secure by the skill with which they had erected their breast-work. It was from 5 to 8 feet high, and extended across the point in such a direction, as that a force approaching it would be exposed to a double fire, while they lay in perfect security behind. A cannon planted at one extremity could have raked it to no advantage.

Determining to exterminate them, I detached Gen. Coffee with the mounted men, and nearly the whole of the Indian force, early on the morning of yesterday, to cross the river about two miles below their encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner, as that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river. With the infantry, I proceeded slowly and in order, along the point of land which led to the front of their breast-work; having planted my cannon, one 6 and one 3 pounder, on an eminence at the distance of 150 to 200 yards from it, I opened a very brisk fire, playing upon the enemy with the muskets and rifles whenever they shewed themselves beyond it. This was kept up with short interruptions for about 2 hours, when a part of the Indian force, and Capt. Russell's and Lieut. Bean's companies of spies, who had accompanied Gen. Coffee, crossed over in canoes to the extremity of the bend, and set fire to a few of the buildings which were there situated; they then advanced with great gallantry towards the breastwork, and commenced a spirited fire upon the enemy behind it.

Finding that his force, notwithstanding the bravery they displayed, was wholly insufficient to dislodge them, and that Gen. Coffee had entirely secured the opposite bank of the river, I now determined to take it by storm. The men by whom this was to be effected, had been waiting with impatience to receive the order, and hailed it with acclamation.

The spirit which animated them, was a sure augury of the success which was to follow. The history of warfare, I think furnishes few instances of a more brilliant attack. The regulars, led on by their intrepid and skilful commander, Col. Williams, and by the gallant Maj. Montgomery, soon gained possession of the works, in the midst of a most tremendous fire from behind them; and the militia of the venerable Gen. Doherty's brigade, accompanied them in the charge with a vivacity and firmness which would have done honour to regulars. The enemy were completely routed. Five hundred and fifty-seven were left dead on the peninsula, and a great number were killed by the horsemen in attempting to cross the river: it is believed that not more than 20 have escaped.

The fighting continued with some severity about 5 hours, but we continued to destroy many of them who had concealed themselves under the banks of the river, until we were prevented by the night. This morning we killed 16 who had been concealed. We took about 250 prisoners, all women and children, except two or three. Our loss is 160 wounded, and 25 killed. Maj. M'Intosh, (the Cowetau,) who joined my army with a part of his tribe, greatly distinguished himself. When I get an hour's leisure, I will send you a more detailed account.

According to my original purpose, I commenced my return march to Fort Williams to-day, and shall, if I find sufficient supplies there, hasten to the Hickory Ground. The power of the Creeks is, I think, forever broken.

I send you a hasty sketch, taken by the eye, of the situation on which the enemy were encamped, and of the manner in which I approached them. I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON, Maj. Gen.

Maj. Gen. Pinckney.

The loss of the Americans, added to the whole loss of the friendly Indians, was 54 killed, and 156 wounded.

In communicating the result of this victory, without a parallel, to the War Department, Gen. Pinckney elegantly and impressively observes,—"While the sigh of humanity will escape, for this profuse effusion of human blood, which results from the savage principle of our enemy, neither to give or accept quarter; and while every American will deeply lament the loss of our meritorious fellow soldiers who have fallen in this contest, we have ample cause of gratitude to the giver of all victory, for thus continuing his protection to our women and children, who would otherwise be exposed to the indiscriminate havock of the tomahawk, and all the horrors of savage warfare."

The aged soldier, who has been familiarized through life with civilized warfare, can form but an imperfect idea of war, as carried on by savages. Those who have passed their lives in the tranquil scenes of civil life, are still more incompetent to form a conception of its horrours. We can read its history and weep; but were we to witness its tragical scenes, even tears would be stopped, by the ghastly and appalling forms, in which death is presented to the view of its victims. The writer has seen nothing of savage warfare, and but little of savage life in a state of peace; but he can yet almost *realize* its horrors from impressions, never to be eradicated, made upon his mind in the earliest stages of life. His venerated grandfather, ISRAEL PUTNAM, "*seam'd with many a scar*," by the knives and tomahawks of savages, as he was treading the last steps that carried him to his tomb, related to his listening grand-children, the tortures he had borne from savages, and his "*hair-breadth 'scapes*" from savage death. His accomplished Aid-de-camp, Gen. Humphrey, has left them upon the page of Biography.*

The severity of Gen. Jackson with the Creeks, has been a subject of severe animadversion with many who sympathize with savages, but who can readily forget the indiscriminate slaughter at *Tensaw*. Let such remember that at Fort *Mimms*, in that settlement, the unoffending citizen was consumed by fire—his beseeching wife and helpless children were, by the same tomahawk, in the same moment, inhumanly murdered. And to make them withdraw their ill-placed sympathy, let them remember that the fate which there swallowed up the whole of the citizens, and the whole of their defenders, was declared to be the destiny of every American, within the reach of savage vengeance.

Whatever injustice the Aborigines of America may have endured from Europeans in the early settlements of North America, they have no cause of complaint against the present generation of Anglo-Americans, who are citizens of the United States, nor against the government of the American Republic. Mildness has marked the policy of individuals in their intercourse with the natives, and lenity and justice has characterized every measure of the American administrations in regard to them, from the commencement of the government under the sainted WASHINGTON, to this period. While the *state* has protected them in the enjoyment of their temporal rights, the *church* has, with unceasing exertions, endeavoured to convert them to Christianity.

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* Vide Humphrey's Life of Putnam, pages 67, 68, 69, 72.

But every measure to introduce among them the arts of civilized life and the benign influence of Christianity, "*to soothe the savage breast*," has been thwarted by the poisonous influence of British and Spanish emissaries. Upon them, let a double portion of indignation be poured, as the guilty causes of the miseries inflicted by savages upon Americans, and of the almost total extinction of the Indians by the arm of power. Indubitable testimony will support the assertion, that every Indian war in North America, from the Treaty of Peace in 1783, to this period, has been occasioned by foreign emissaries. Although the British government was compelled to acknowledge the Independence of the American Republic, it has always endeavoured to check its rising greatness. They still hope to subjugate it to their dominion, by the power of their navy upon the seaboard, and of their savage allies upon the frontiers. It would be a handsome accession to the power of the "legitimate sovereigns" of Europe, to behold George III. (or IV.) wielding the sceptre of power over North, and Ferdinand VII. over South America.

CHAPTER X.

Conclusion of Creek War—Return of Gen. Jackson and Volunteers—their reception, and separation—Gen. Jackson is appointed Brig. Gen. in U. S. army—also a Commissioner to treat with Creek Indians—concludes a treaty—Foreign emissaries—Indian Eloquence—Speech of Witherford—of Big Warrior—of Tecumseh, and his death.

HAVING accomplished the object of the expedition to the *Tallapoosa*, by the victory at *Tohopeka*, Gen. Jackson returned with his army to Fort Williams, about the 1st of April. Incessant fatigue, and arduous duty, had retarded the recovery of his health, and reduced him almost to a skeleton; but the animation he felt at having effected, in a few months, what, from every former prospect, would have been supposed to need the exertion of years, made him forget his debility; and his mind arose in majesty, as his body was emaciated by toil. Proud of the title, "*Commander of Tennessee Volunteers*," he rejoiced that they had retrieved the reputation they had recently tarnished, by mutiny and disaffection.

His object now was to form a junction with the forces of the state of Georgia, and either complete the extermination of the Creeks, or compel them to bury the tomahawk, and sue for peace. The *Hillabees*, a clan of them, for reasons before mentioned, were the last to supplicate for mercy. The attack made upon them on the 18th November, 1813, by Gen. White, when they were urgent to make peace with Gen. Jackson, rendered them desperate. The remnants of all the tribes had assemled at *Hothlewalee*, in the *Hickory Ground.* Gen. Jackson, with his forces, went in pursuit of them. But despair had now succeeded to fury, and the savages dispersed. The general prosecuted his march to the Hickory, Ground, and, on or about the 15th April, established a fort upon the *Coosa*, near its confluence with the Tallapoosa, which was named *Fort Jackson.* This completed a line of posts through Tennessee, Georgia, and the Alabama Territory.

The Georgia forces had formed a junction with the conquering general; and, upon the 20th April, Maj. Gen. Pinckney commander in chief of Military Districts No. 6 and 7, arrived at Fort Jackson, and assumed the command of the whole forces in the Creek country. Gen. Pinckney invited Gen. Jackson to his head quarters, where a splendid entertainment had been prepared. This emaciated and war-worn veteran, with some of his principal officers, partook of it with the Commander in Chief. To reciprocate the civility, the Conqueror of the Creeks, invited the Commander to dine with him at his marquee the next day. The simple diet that had sustained him and his gallant associates for months, was the bill of fare. It called to mind gloomy and proud recollections—the dish of rice, and draught of whisky, had supported them in times of peril—they were now enjoyed in safety.

Never, since the discovery of America, did an American officer leave the command of an army, to his superiour officer, under circumstances more auspicious, than did Maj. Gen. Jackson, of Tennessee Volunteers, to Maj. Gen. Pinckney of the U. S. army. He assumed the command of the troops, only to disband them. Their work was done, and well done. Gen. Jackson, for a number of weeks previous, had moved with his army, with the celerity of lightning, and like that, had prostrated every thing that opposed them. He might have said, with Cæzar, "*Veni, vidi, vici*"—I came—I saw—I conquered!

The panic-struck savages, who had been led by the wild incantations of their prophets, and the more guilty encouragement of foreign emissaries, to spread devastation, havock, carnage, and death, among the unoffending American settlers, humbly prostrated themselves before their conquerors, and begged for that sparing mercy, which it had been enjoined upon them never to extend.

Fearing to raise a hand against a white man, these infatuated dæmons of the forest, preyed upon *each other*; and seemed to delight in bearing and inflicting tortures. The Creeks massacred every one of their tribe who were known to have attacked Fort Mimms.

Upon the 21st, the next day after Gen. Pinckney assumed the command, he ordered the Tennessee troops to be marched home, and discharged ; retaining, however, sufficient to garrison the established posts. Gen. Jackson immediately took measures to comply with the order.

The following is Gen. Jackson's last communication, as an officer in the military forces of Tennessee.

Fort Williams, April 25th, *at night.*

Sir—Gen. Pinckney joined me at Fort Jackson on the 20th. The enemy continuing to come in from every quarter, and it being now evident that the war was over, I received an order at 3 o'clock, P. M. on the 21st, to march my troops back to Fort Williams, and after having dispersed any bodies of the enemy who may have assembled on the *Cahawba*, or within striking distance, and provided for the maintenance of posts between Tennessee and Fort Jackson, to discharge the remainder. Within two hours after receiving this order, I was on the line of march ; and reached this place last evening, a distance of about sixty miles.

To Brig. Gen. Doherty, I shall assign the duty of keeping up the posts, which form the line of communication between Tennessee and the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, making the necessary arrangements to enable him to do so. About 400 of the E. Tennessee militia, will be left at this place, 250 at Fort Strother, and 75 at Fort Armstrong and New Deposit. Old Deposit will be maintained by Capt. Hammond's company of rangers.

To-morrow I detail 500 of the militia under the command of Brig. Gen. Johnson, to the Cahawba, with instructions to unite with me at Fort Deposit, after having dispersed any bodies of the enemy they may find there assembled.

The commissioners who have been appointed to make a treaty with the Creeks, need have nothing to do but assign them their proper limits. Those of the friendly party, who have associated with me, will be easily satisfied; and those of the hostile party, they consider it a favour that their lives have been spared them, and will look upon any space that may be allowed them, for their future settlement, as a bounteous donation. I have taken the liberty to point out what I think ought to be the future line of separation, with which I will hereafter make you acquainted. If they should be established, none of the Creeks will be left on the west of the Coosa.

Accompanying this, I send you a report made by the Adjutant-General, of the killed and wounded, at the battle of Tohopeka, which was omitted to be sent by the former express.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON.

His Excellency Gov. W. Blount.

At the expiration of a few days, he commenced a return march to his home, after an absence of eight months. If the sense of obligation bears any proportion to the benefits received, it may well be concluded that the people of Tennessee and Mississippi, must have been deeply impressed with the obligations of gratitude, to Gen. Jackson and his gallant Volunteers. For twenty years, the frontier settlers had lived in a state of insecurity ; and since the commencement of the second war between the American Republic and the kingdom of Great Britain, in the most alarming apprehensions. Their danger was now removed, and their safety was secured. The spontaneous bursts of admiration and applause that were every where uttered, was more grateful to the feelings of Gen. Jackson, than all the studied encomiums that could be bestowed.

Upon reaching Camp Blount, at Fayetteville, (Tenn.) the bond of union, which had been cemented by common danger, and common toils, between the general and the volunteers, was dissolved. Having learned and discharged the duty of veteran *soldiers*, they now reverted back to industrious *citizens* ; ready, at no distant period, to follow their beloved chief, to conquer a civilized, as they already had done, a barbarous foe. While tears of pungent grief were shed at the recollection of their brave associates, who were left to moulder in the graves of the wilderness, those of exquisite joy flowed at the safety of their fathers, and the security of their homes.

Gen. Jackson, having very much exceeded the time for which he *volunteered* his *service*, and having accomplished vastly more than the most sanguine expectations could have anticipated, was about to retire to the repose of private life, which his debilitated state of health imperiously demanded. But the portentous clouds of war which were constantly augmenting upon the southern borders of the Republic, rendered his services, if possible, more necessary than they had already been. About the 1st June, 1814, he was appointed a Brigadier General in the army of the United States.

Before he was called upon to commence his military career in his new capacity, he was appointed a commissioner, to secure by negociation, what he had already acquired by arms.

To make a treaty, however, with Indians, can hardly be called *negociation*, as it is considered among civilized powers. The law of nations, which requires "good faith" between the contracting parties, is a code not recognized by American savages. It is rather a contract of bargain and sale, with a penalty annexed for breach of covenants. Col. Hawkins, who was appointed Indian Agent by Gen. Washington, and who has been in the agency ever since, was associated with Gen. Jackson in this mission.

By the American forces, a complete conquest had been made of the whole Creek country; and this conquest had been occasioned by flagrant breaches of treaty, and outrageous violations of humanity by the Creeks. Had the American government felt the cupidity, or exercised the power which the larger kingdoms of Europe manifest toward the smaller ones, the Creeks must either have fled from their country, or been reduced to vassalage, and their country itself would have been annexed to the Republic. But its existence commenced upon the broad principles of national and individual justice, and in the progress of its government, it has never deviated from them.

The object of Gen. Jackson and the other commissioners, was not so much to obtain new territory, as to secure the acknowledged territory of the Republic, from the future depredations of Indian hostility. Upon the 10th August, 1814, a Treaty was executed, which is before the public. It cut off the savages from all communication with the perpetual disturbers of our tranquillity, and secured to the government such privileges in their country, as will hereafter place the frontiers out of danger from the *Creeks*.

It will be seen in the sequel, what measures were adopted by the government and Gen. Jackson, to secure our country against other powerful tribes, who were incited by our arch and implacable enemies, to raise the tomahawk against our countrymen, as they had already induced the unfortunate Creeks to do.

Having often been obliged, from the nature of the subject, to allude to the unjustifiable and reprehensible conduct, of British and Spanish emissaries, I am confident the reader will be gratified, in seeing the evidence furnished by the savages themselves. In presenting this evidence, I furnish at the same time specimens of Indian Eloquence, which have never been equalled, unless by the speech of *Logan*, as found in JEFFERSON's Notes on Virginia. The first I offer, is the speech of the ferocious *Witherford*, previously mentioned. His surrender to Gen. Jackson, reminds the historian of *Coriolanus* and *Aufidius*—of *Themistocles* and a *Persian* king. Magnanimity in each, overcame vengeance.

WITHERFORD's SPEECH TO GENERAL JACKSON.

"I am in your power—do with me as you please. I am a soldier. I have done the white people all the harm I could; I have faught them, and faught them bravely: If I had an army, I would yet fight, and contend to the last: but I have none; my people are all gone. I can now do no more than weep over the misfortunes of my nation. Once I could animate my warriors to battle; but I cannot animate the dead. My warriors can no longer hear my voice: their bones are at *Talladega*, *Tallushatches*, *Emuckfau*, and *Tohopeka*. I have not surrendered myself thoughtlessly. Whilst there were chances of success, I never left my post, nor supplicated peace. But my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation, and for myself. On the miseries and misfortunes brought upon my country, I look back with deepest sorrow, and wish to avert still greater calamities. If I had been left to contend with the Georgia army, I would have raised my corn on one bank of the river, and fought them on the other; but your people have destroyed my nation. You are a brave man—I rely upon your generosity. You will exact no terms of a conquered people, but such as they should accede to: whatever they may be, it would now be madness and folly to oppose. If they are opposed, you shall find me amongst the sternest enforcers of obedience. Those who would still hold out, can be influenced only by a mean spirit of revenge; and to this they must not, and shall not sacrifice the last remnant of their country. You have told us where we might go, and be safe. This is a good talk, and my nation ought to listen to it. They *shall* listen to it."

The second evidence, is the speech of "*The Big Warrior*," before Gen. Jackson, Col. Hawkins, &c. It is with all the pleasure of delight, that I incorporate this eloquent appeal to the magnanimity of our government, into this work. While it eulogizes the memory of our immortal political saviour, GEORGE WASHINGTON, it also places Mr. MADISON, in the most exalted station—the protector of the weak. It also repels the many insinuations which have been made against the long tried and faithful Indian agent, Col. Hawkins. It is but an ill requital for the long seclusion in which the Agent has lived; and the pacific and salutary policy which he has pursued in the Creek agency, to have it *hinted*, "*that his agency had lasted too long to hope that he would steadily pursue that course which the safety and interest of the country required.*" But such is the fate of public functionaries in our Republic. JAMES MONROE, and ANDREW JACKSON, than whom, more devoted patriots were never enrolled upon the records of worth, have shared in public obloquy, as well as in public applause. Even this is not without its benefits. Jealousy is the shield of freedom, and results from the solicitude Americans feel for their sacred rights and liberties. These censures serve the same purpose in our Republic, as the dust that was, by order, cast by lictors upon the heads of the returning conquerors of the Roman Republic, when they were passing under triumphal arches.

BIG WARRIOR's SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS.

"THE President, our father, advises us to honesty and fairness, and promises that justice shall be done; I hope and trust it will be! I made this war, which has proved so fatal to my country, that the treaty entered into, a long time ago, with father Washington, might not be broken. To his friendly arm I hold fast. I will never break that chain of friendship we made together, and which bound us to stand to the United States. He was a father to the Muscoga people ; and not only to them, but to all the people beneath the sun. His talk I now hold in my hand. There sits the agent * he sent among us. Never has he broken the treaty. He has lived with us a long time. He has seen our children born, who now have children. By his direction, cloth was wove, and clothes were made, and spread through our country; but the Red Sticks came, and destroyed all—we have none now. Hard is our situation, and you ought to consider it. I state what all the nation knows : nothing will I keep secret.

There is the Little Warrior, whom Col. *Hawkins* knows. While we were giving satisfaction for the murders that had been committed, he proved a mischief-maker; he went to the *British* on the lakes ; he came back, and brought a package to the frontiers, which increased the murders here. This conduct has already made the war party to suffer greatly : but, although almost destroyed, they will not yet open their eyes, but are still led away by the *British at Pensacola.* Not so with us ; we were rational, and had our senses—we yet are so. In the war of the revolution, our father beyond the waters, encouraged us to join him, and we did so. We had no sense then. The promises he made were never kept. We were young and foolish, and fought with him. The British can no more persuade us to do wrong : they have deceived us once, and can deceive us no more. You are two great people. If you go to war, we will have no concern in it; for we are not able to fight. We wish to be at peace with every nation. If they offer me arms, I will say to them, You put me in danger, to war against a people born in our own land. They shall never force us into danger. You shall never see that our chiefs are boys in council, who will be forced to do any thing. I talk thus, knowing that father Washington advised us never to interfere in wars. He told us that those in peace were the happiest people. He told us that if an enemy attacked him, he had warriors enough, and did not wish his red children to help him. If the British advise us to any thing, I will tell you—not hide it from you—If they say we must fight, I will tell them, No!"

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* Col. Hawkins.

I now present the reader with a speech of *one* of the greatest warriors of any age, of any nation, or of any colour—TECUMSEH. It was this Sachem and Prophet, who had been educated at an English seminary in *Canada*, who first infused into the Creeks the murderous principles he had learned from English Christians. He returned to his own tribe, and prepared them for the crusade they were to make with their English "fathers" against Americans. Infatuated chief!! thy blood calls aloud from the ground for revenge against thy perfidious misleaders. The cowardice of Proctor was as base as his perfidy. The simple eloquence of this child of the forest, is the bitterest satire, and the most vindictive judgment against the British nation. The Indians of the East, as well as of the West, form a "paramount inquest," whose sentence will reverse the judgment of the House of Lords in favour of Lord *Hastings*, and raise indignation at the eulogies bestowed upon Sir *George Prevost*.

SPEECH OF TECUMSEH,

In the name of the Indian Chiefs and Warriors, to Maj. Gen. Proctor, as the representative of their Great Father, the King.

Father—listen to your children! You have them now all before you. The war before * this, our British father gave the hatchet to his red children, when our old chiefs were alive. They are now dead. In that war, our father was thrown on his back by the Americans, and our father took them by the hand without our knowledge;† and we are afraid that our father will do so again at this time. Summer before last, when I came forward with my red brethren, and was ready to take up the hatchet in favour of our British father, we were told not to be in a hurry—that he had not yet determined to fight the Americans.

Listen!—When war was declared, our father stood up and gave us the tomahawk, and told us that he was now ready to strike the Americans:

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* The revolutionary war.

† The British made peace without any stipulation for their Indian allies.

that he wanted our assistance ; and that he certainly would get us our lands back, which the Americans had taken from us.

Listen!—You told us at that time, to bring forward our families to this place, and we did so ; and you promised to take care of them, and that they should want for nothing, while the men would go and fight the enemy ; that we need not trouble ourselves about the enemy's garrisons ; that we knew nothing about them ; and that our father would attend to that part of the business. You also told your red children, that you would take good care of your garrison here, which made our hearts glad.

Listen!—When we were last to the rapids, it is true we gave you little assistance. It is hard to fight people who live like ground hogs.*

Listen Father!—Our fleet has gone out—we know they have fought—we have heard the great guns, but know nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm.† Our ships have gone one way, and we are very much astonished, to see our father tying up every thing and preparing to run away the other, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands—it made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish.

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* During the siege of Fort Meigs, the troops covered themselves from the enemy's fire, by throwing up traverses and ditches of earth.

† Commodore Barclay.

Our great father, the King, is the head, and you represent him. You always told us, you would never draw your foot off British ground; but now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to see our father doing so, without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat animal, that carries its tail upon its back, but when affrighted, it drops it between its legs, and runs off.

Listen Father!—The Americans have not yet defeated us by land; neither are we sure that they have done so by water: *we therefore wish to remain here, and fight our enemy, should they make their appearance.* If they defeat us, we will *then* retreat with our father.

At the battle of the Rapids, last war, the Americans certainly defeated us; and when we retreated to our father's * fort at that place, the gates were shut against us. We were afraid that it would now be the case, but instead of that, we see our British father preparing to march out of his garrison.

Father!—You have got the arms and ammunition which the great father sent for his red children. If you have any idea of going away, give them to us, and you may go, and welcome, for us. Our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit—we are determined to defend our lands, and if it is his will, we wish to leave our bones upon them.

Amherstburgh, 18th *Sept.* 1813.

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* Fort Miami, near Wayne's battle-ground.

I present the reader with Maj. *Thomas Rowland's* (of the 27th U. S. Infantry) account of the death of this great chief—" TECUMSEH is certainly killed—I saw him with my own eyes—it was the first time I had seen this celebrated chief. There was something so majestic, so dignified, and yet so mild in his countenance, as he lay stretched on his back, on the ground where a few minuets before he had rallied his men to the fight, that while gazing on him with admiration and pity, I forgot he was a savage. He had received a wound in the arm, and had it bound up before he received the mortal wound. He had such a countenance as I shall never forget."

Major Rowland might have exclaimed, over the corpse of Tecumseh, as *Henry* V. did over that of *Percey*—

" Lie there great heart—the earth that bears thee dead,
" Bears not alive so stout. * * * * * *"

CHAPTER XI.

Spanish aggressions and perfidy—Gen. Jackson's measures to detect Manrequez, the Governour of Florida—his letter to him—Danger of the 7th Military District—Gen. Jackson's appeal to the government—Mr. Monroe's measures of defence—Attack upon Fort Bowyer—gallant defence of Major Lawrence—his official report of it.

THE writer has attempted to shew the reader, the prominent features of Gen. Jackson's life, from his birth to the conclusion of the Creek war. It is but a miniature, and if the figure is not finely touched, the delineations are confidently pronounced, correct. To crowd a biographical sketch with minute details of events, in which the subject of it has acted a conspicuous part, may swell a volume with a wilderness of "*words*, *words*, *words*," and hide the hero of it, in the rubbish that entangles him. I certainly have a wish, (it may be an unavailing one,) to keep ANDREW JACKSON in *sight*, through this little volume; and although the deeply interesting scenes, in which he was the principal actor, must necessarily be adverted to, it is hoped the attention of the reader will not be diverted from the subject of these memoirs, by blending with his life, those descriptions which more properly belong to the voluminous historian, than to the brief biographer.

Gen. Jackson, having conquered the most warlike tribe of *savages* within, and perhaps, without the Republic, by the sword, and having secured to his government the benefit of the conquest by treaty, he was led, not into regular negociation, but into singular intercourse with a power that calls itself *civilized!*

It is painful to see a nation, which once held an elevated rank among European powers, sunk to the lowest state of degradation. Spain, in the reign of Phillip, menaced, by its *armada*, the same British power, which has recently dragged its imbecile, but tyrannical monarch from the humblest exile, and placed him upon the Spanish throne. Struggling to regain the power of his predecessors, and trembling under the rod of his imperious mistress, he lends all his little aid in Europe and America, to subserve the interest of the British government. Knowing that the "holy alliance" entered into in 1814, by the "Allied Sovereigns," guarantees to each other their ancient colonies, Ferdinand VII. covertly gave every aid and facility to the British forces, in their last war against the American Republic, *once* British colonies. This, Gen. Jackson full well knew during the prosecution, and at the close of the Creek war. He knew that the governour of the Spanish province of Florida, although Spain was in a state of professed neutrality, either through fear of Britain, or hatred to America, had given every assistance to the Indians in their sanguinary war against our frontiers.

The peace he had conquered from the Creeks, he was aware would not be a permanent one, nor the treaty he had made regarded, so long as their hostile chiefs and warriors, were fostered, protected, and encouraged to further hostilities, by the governour of Florida, acting under his "adored master," Ferdinand VII. He was determined, if possible, to secure to his country the benefit of the victories which he had acquired, by the loss of some of his valiant countrymen, and by the death of hundreds of Creeks, who fell victims to religious fanaticism, and British and Spanish machinations.

Gen. Jackson is too cautious as a statesman, and too generous as a soldier, to trust to vague reports, and unsupported assertions, as grounds of important measures. While making a treaty with the Creeks, he dispatched some of his confidential officers to *Pensacola*, to observe the course pursued by *Gonzalez Manrequez*, the Spanish governour. From the Creeks also, he was receiving almost daily information of the perfidious conduct of this obsequious minister of the faithless Ferdinand. Upon the return of his officers, that which was before believed upon the strongest presumptive evidence, was now reduced to absolute certainty.

Gen. Jackson, at this time, (Sept. 1814,) had received no instructions from the War Department, relative to the course to be pursued with the Spanish authorities in Florida. He sent a direct message to Gov. Manrequez, *requesting* him to point out the course he was about to pursue. The correspondence that followed between him and Gen. Jackson, has long been before the public, and is too lengthy to be here inserted. The governour was less equivocal, and more explicit, than he had previously been. He began to feel a strong assurance that the British government, which had restored his master to his throne, would support him in all his measures against the Republic. He knew that the legitimate sovereigns of Europe were safely enthroned, and that pride as well as interest, would induce them to secure to Ferdinand VII. his South American colonies, and to endeavour to regain for George III. the colonies he *had* lost in the North. His language was confident, not to say imperious. He repelled the charges against *him*, by criminating the American government. The correspondence was closed by the following letter to him, from Gen. Jackson.

" Were I clothed" says the general, " with diplomatic powers, for the purpose of discussing the topics embraced in the wide range of injuries of which you complain, and which have long since been adjusted, I could easily demonstrate that the United States have been always faithful to their treaties; steadfast in their friendships; nor have ever claimed any thing that was not warranted by justice. They have endured many insults from the governours and other officers of Spain, which, if sanctioned by their sovereign, amounted to acts of war, without any previous declaration on the subject. They have excited the savages to war, and afforded them the means of waging it. The property of our citizens has been captured at sea, and if compensation has not been refused, it has at least been withheld. But as no such powers have been delegated to me, I shall not assume them, but leave them to the representatives of our respective governments.

I have the honour of being entrusted with the command of this district. Charged with its protection, and the safety of its citizens, I feel my ability to discharge the task, and trust your excellency will always find me ready and willing to go forward, in the performance of that duty, whenever circumstances shall render it necessary. I agree with you, perfectly, that candour and polite language should, at all times, characterize the communications between the officers of friendly sovereignties; and I assert, without the fear of contradiction, that my former letters were couched in terms the most respectful and unexceptionable. I only *requested*, and did not *demand*, as you asserted, the ring leaders of the Creek confederacy, who had taken refuge in your town, and who had violated all laws, moral, civil, and divine. This I had a right to do, from the treaty which I sent you, and which I now again enclose, with a request that you will change your translation; believing, as I do, that your former one was wrong, and has deceived you.

What kind of an answer you returned, a reference to your letter will explain. The whole of it breathed nothing but hostility, grounded upon assumed facts, and false charges, and entirely evading the inquiries that had been made.

I can but express my astonishment at your protest against the cession on the Alabama, lying within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States, and which has been ratified, in due form, by the principal chiefs and warriors of the nation. But my astonishment subsides, when, on comparing it, I find it upon a par with the rest of your letter and conduct; taken together, they afford a sufficient justification for any consequences that may ensue. My government will protect every inch of her territory, her citzens, and her property, from insult and depredation, regardless of the political revolutions of Europe: and although she has been at all times sedulous to preserve a good understanding with all the world, yet she has sacred rights, that cannot be trampled upon with impunity. Spain had better look to her own intestine commotions, before she walks forth in that majesty of strength and power, which you threaten to draw down upon the United States. Your excellency has been candid enough to admit your having supplied the Indians with arms. In addition to this, I have learned that a British flag has been seen flying on one of your forts. All this is done whilst you are pretending to be neutral.

You cannot be surprised, then, but on the contrary will provide a fort in your town, for my soldiers and Indians, should I take it in my head to pay you a visit.

In future, I beg you to withhold your insulting charges against my government, for one more inclined to listen to slander than I am; nor consider me any more as a diplomatic character, unless so proclaimed to you from the mouths of my cannon."

It is with the highest pleasure I incorporate the foregoing letter into these memoirs; and the reader will feel an exultation at knowing, that we have not only one, but many generals in the army of the Republic, who unite the Statesman and the Soldier. Although Gen. Jackson, at the time he wrote it, was not clothed with diplomatic powers, he shews, in a few paragraphs, that he perfectly understands the points in controversy between the imbecile, yet haughty government of Spain, and the American Republic. Had *he* been a negociator *ten years ago*, it would probably not *now* be said that America has been *thirteen years* in trying to settle our differences with Spain, and that she may from thence infer that we shall continue to be very moderate, in bringing the controversy to an amicable adjustment. The divine dictate that requires men to "*render good for evil,*" has not yet been added to the code of the Law of Nations; and if our Republic is disposed to act upon that principle with the allied sovereigns of Europe, every one of whom are anxious to destroy it, we may as well surrender our independence at once, and revert back to a tame, and submissive *colonial* state.

Gen. Jackson was now commander in chief of the 7th military district, including the most important part of the southern section of the union. It was now altogether the most endangered part of it. The splendid victories at *Chippewa*, *Bridgwater*, *Fort Erie*, and *Plattsburgh*, had allayed all apprehension from British armies in the north. The defence of *New London* and *Stonington*, *New York* and *Baltimore*, had robbed British "naval demonstrations" of their terrours, upon the eastern seaboard. The British admirals and British generals, were concentrating their forces, with a determination to wipe off the disgrace, which had with justice been attached to them—not so much from the defeats they had suffered, as from the Vandalism they had displayed in the Chesapeake Bay, upon the Niagara frontier, and at the city of Washington. The utmost confidence was expressed by the British in America, of the success of this great and united effort of the armies and navies of Britain; and a British commissioner at Ghent, who at this time was negociating a peace with American commissioners, tauntingly remarked, that before they had time to conclude a peace, New Orleans and the states upon the Mississippi, would be in possession of Sir Edward Pakenham!

It is no more than candid to admit, that very serious apprehensions were entertained by Americans themselves, in regard to the safety of the southern section of the union, or that part of it situated upon the Gulf of Mexico, and near the mouth of the Mississippi. A very great proportion of the troops of the Republic and of the munitions of war, were in the northern, eastern, and middle states, at an immense distance from New Orleans. The whole sea-board, from Castine to that place, was commanded by a superiour naval force of the enemy, who could by that command, in a very short time, approach any "assailable point" upon the ocean. Sir Geo. Prevost's army of 14,000, were in Lower Canada, burning to revenge the defeat they met with at Plattsburg. Large reinforcements were known to have arrived from England in the West Indies, under command of some of the most renowned generals in Wellington's army, and every indication evinced the determination of the whole land and naval forces of the enemy, upon the American station, to make a descent near the mouth of the Mississippi.

Many British officers had already arrived at Pensacola, about 70 miles east of Mobile bay, on which *Fort Bowyer* is situated. Here they were received with great cordiality by the governour, and suffered to embody and train savages. Gen. Jackson, about the first of September, addressed the War Department in the most pressing terms. In one of his letters, he says—"How long will the United States pocket the reproach and open insults of Spain? It is alone by a manly and dignified course, that we can secure respect from other nations, and peace to our own. Temporizing policy is not only a disgrace, but a curse to any nation. It is a fact, that a British captain of marines is, and has been, for some time, engaged in drilling and organizing the fugitive Creeks, under the eye of the governour; endeavouring, by his influence and presents, to draw to his standard, as well the peaceable, as the hostile Indians. If permission had been given me to march against this place, (Pensacola,) twenty days ago, I would ere this, have planted there the AMERICAN EAGLE; now we must trust alone to our valour, and the justice of our cause. But my present resources are so limited—a sickly climate, as well as an enemy to contend with, and without the means of transportation, to change the position of my army, that, resting on the bravery of my little phalanx, I can only *hope* for success."

The Secretary at War, Mr. Monroe, incessantly exerted himself to second the measures of Gen. Jackson. Having acquired Louisiana, and the exclusive command of the Mississippi by negociation, he was now called upon to defend it as the head of the War Department. As there was, within the 7th military district, but a very small amount of regular troops, the Secretary made a requisition upon the executives of the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee, to have their full quota of militia in readiness for immediate service, at the command of Gen. Jackson. Volunteers were again invited by Gen. Jackson to resort to his standard, under which they had always conquered. The whole civilized region of the Mississippi, was "wide awake." The unbounded popularity of Gen. Jackson induced the militia not only with promtness, but with animation, to repair to the rendezvous; and the "Tennessee Volunteers," under their gallant, accomplished, and beloved leader, Gen. Coffee, were again in motion. They had almost invariably formed the van of Gen. Jackson's army; and of their immediate commander, it may be said, "he dared to lead, where any dared to follow."

Gen. Jackson, before the middle of September, had established his head quarters at Mobile, waiting the arrival of the militia and volunteers, some of whom had to travel more than 450 miles. Upon the 14th, he received a message from Maj. *William Lawrence*, commander of Fort Bowyer at the mouth of Mobile bay, requesting immediate assistance in the defence of that important post, as the enemy had landed in the vicinity of that place, with a force probably ten times the amount of his own. Maj. Lawrence had but 158 men fit for duty. He took immediate measures to succour this exposed garrison; but before reinforcements could reach that place, it was simultaneously attacked upon the 15th, by the British and Indian forces, by land, and by a large naval force in the bay. The defence of this place is described in the finished style of Gen. Jackson, and Maj. Lawrence.

GEN. JACKSON, to HON. JAMES MONROE.

H. Q. 7th Military District,
Mobile, Sept. 17th, 1814.

Sir—With lively emotions of satisfaction, I communicate that success has crowned the gallant efforts of our brave soldiers, in resisting and repulsing a combined British naval and land force, which on the 15th instant, attacked Fort Bowyer, on the Point of Mobile.

I enclose a copy of the official report of Maj. Wm. Lawrence, of the 2d infantry, who commanded. In addition to the particulars communicated in his letter, I have learned that the ship which was destroyed, was the Hermes, of from 24 to 28 guns, captain, the Hon. Wm. H. Percy, senior officer in the Gulf of Mexico; and the brig so considerably damaged, is the Sophie, 18 guns, Capt. Wm. Lockyer. The other ship was the Carron, of from 24 to 28 guns, Capt. Spencer, son of Earl Spencer; the other brig's name unknown. On board of the Carron, 85 men were killed and wounded; among whom was Col. Nicoll, of the Royal Marines, who lost an eye by a splinter. Th [illegible] vas land force consisted of 110 marines, and [illegible] shot, Creek Indians, under the command of Capt. W [illegible] of the bine, of marines, and about 20 artillerists, with one four and an half inch howitzer, from which they discharged shells and nine pound shot. They re-embarked the piece, and retreated by land towards Pensacola, whence they came.

By the morning report of the 16th, there were present in the fort, fit for duty, officers and men, 158.

The result of this engagement has stamped a character on the war in this quarter, highly favourable to the American arms; it is an event from which may be drawn the most favourable augury. An achievement so glorious in itself, and so important in its consequences, should be appreciated by the government; and those concerned are entitled to, and will, doubtless, receive the most gratifying evidence of the approbation of their countrymen.

In the words of Maj. Lawrence, "where all behaved well, it is unnecessary to discriminate." But all being meritorious, I beg leave to annex the names of the officers, who were engaged and present; and hope they will, individually, be deemed worthy of distinction.

Maj. Wm. Lawrence, 2d infantry, commanding; Capt. Walsh, of the artillery; Capts. Chamberlain, Brownlow, and Bradley, of the 2d infantry; Capts. Sands, deputy-commissary of Ordnance; Lieuts. Villard, Sturges, Conway, H. Sanders, T. Sanders, Brooks, Davis, and C. Sanders, all of the 2d infantry.

I am confident that your own feelings will lead you to participate in my wishes on this subject. Permit me to suggest the propriety and justice of allowing to this gallant band, the value of the vessel destroyed by them. I remain, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON, *Brig. Gen. Com.*

The Hon. Secretary of War.

The following is "the official report of Maj. William Lawrence," alluded to by Gen. Jackson, in his letter to the Secretary of War.

MAJ. LAWRENCE to GEN. JACKSON.

Fort Bowyer, Sept. 15th, 1814,
12 o'clock at night.

Sir—After writing the enclosed, I was prevented by the approach of the enemy, from sending it by an express. At meridian they were under full sail, with an easy and favourable breeze, standing directly for the fort, and at 4 P. M. we opened our battery, which was returned from two ships, and two brigs, as they approached. The action became general at about 20 minutes past 4, and was continued without intermission on either side until 7, when one ship and two brigs were compelled to retire. The leading ship, supposed to be the Commodore, mounting twenty-two 32-pound carronades, having anchored nearest our battery, was so much disabled, her cable being cut by our shot, that she drifted on shore, within 600 yards of the battery, and the other vessels having got out of our reach, we kept such a tremendous fire upon her, that she was set on fire, and abandoned by the few of the crew who survived. At 10 P. M. we had the pleasure of witnessing the explosion of her magazine. The loss of lives on board must have been immense, as we are certain no boats left her except three, which had previously gone to her assistance, and one of these I believe was sunk; in fact one of her boats was burned along side of her.

The brig that followed her, I am certain was much damaged both in hull and rigging. The other two did not approach near enough to be much injured, but I am confident they did not escape, as a well-directed fire was kept on them during the whole time.

During the action, a battery of a 12 pounder and a howitzer, was opened on our rear, but without doing any execution, and was silenced by a few shot. Our loss is four privates killed, and five privates wounded.

Towards the close of the action the flag-staff was shot away; but the flag was immediately hoisted on a sponge staff over the parapet. While the flag was down, the enemy kept up their most incessant and tremendous fire; the men were withdrawn from the curtains and north-east bastion, as the enemy's own shot completely protected our rear, except the position they had chosen for their battery.

Where all behaved well, it is unnecessary to discriminate. Suffice it to say, every officer and man did his *duty;* the whole behaved with that coolness and intrepidity which is characteristic of the true American, and which could scarcely have been expected from men, most of whom had never seen an enemy, and were now for the first time, exposed for nearly three hours, to a force of nearly or quite, four guns to one.

We fired during the action between 4 and 500 guns, most of them double shotted, and after the first half hour, but few missed effect.

September 16th, 11 o'clock, A. M.

Upon an examination of our battery this morning, we find upwards of 300 shot and shot holes, in the inside of the north and east curtains, and north-east bastions, of all calibres, from musket ball to 32 pound shot. In the north-east bastion, there were three guns dismounted; one of which, a four pounder, was broken off near the trunnions by a 32 pound shot, and another much battered. I regret to say, that both the 24-pounders are cracked in such a manner as to render them unfit for service.

I am informed by two deserters from the land force, who have just arrived here, and whom I send for your disposal, that a reinforcement is expected, when they will doubtless endeavour to wipe off the stain of yesterday.

If you will send the Amelia down, we may probably save most or all of the ship's guns, as her wreck is lying in six or seven feet water, and some of them are just covered. They will not, however, answer for the fort, as they are too short.

By the deserters, we learn that the ship we have destroyed, was the Hermes, but her commander's name they did not recollect. It was the Commodore, and he doubtless fell on his quarter-deck, as we had a raking fire upon it, at about two hundred yards distance, for some time.

To Capt. Sands, who will have the honour of handing you this dispatch, I refer you for a more particular account of the movements of the enemy than may be contained in my letters ; his services both before and during the action, were of great importance, and I consider fully justify me in having detained him. Capt. Walsh and several men were much burned by the accidental explosion of two or three cartridges. They are not included in the list of wounded heretofore given.

The enemy's fleet this morning at day break, were at anchor in the channel, about four miles from the fort ; shortly after, it got under weigh and stood to sea ; after passing the bar, they hove too, and boats have been constantly passing between the disabled brig and the others. I presume the former is so much injured as to render it necessary to lighten her.

Fifteen minutes after 1, P. M.

The whole fleet have this moment made sail, and are standing to sea. I have the honour to be &c.

WILLIAM LAWRENCE.

Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson, &c.

When it is considered that this fort was in a very incomplete state, having been almost totally abandoned, until Gen. Jackson had recently discovered its importance to the surrounding country in time of war—that it was only in a progressive state of improvement—that it was garrisoned by only an hundred and fifty new recruits, who had never before faced a veteran enemy—and that it was assailed on every side by land and naval forces, probably amounting to 1500 men, and an hundred pieces of cannon, its defence may be ranked among the most gallant achievements in the last, or any previous war in America. When the defences of *Stonnington*, *Fort M·Henry*, *Fort Bowyer*, and *Fort St. Phillips* are remembered, the "naval demonstrations" of the haughty mistress of the ocean, lose the terrour which our countrymen formerly attached to them; and shews that independent and valiant freemen, defending their homes against modern hired Vandals, sent to destroy them, *will* be victorious.

CHAPTER XII.

Gen. Jackson is appointed Maj. Gen. in U. S. army—Fort Bowyer—its importance, and its danger—Gen. Jackson determines to reduce Pensacola—Arrival of Gen. Coffee with Tennessee Volunteers and Mississippi Dragoons—Capture of Pensacola—Gen. Jackson's account of it—Destruction of the Barancas—He returns to Mobile—Col. Nicoll's proclamation—Remark.

PREVIOUS to this period, (Oct. 1814,) Gen. Jackson had been appointed a Major.general in the army of the United States, and Commander of the 7th military district. He had been Major-general, by brevet, some time antecedent to this appointment, and commander of the same district.

The importance of Fort Bowyer as a military post, became more and more apparent to him, as he discovered the immense preparation of the enemy, to assail the whole American sea-board, from Pensacola to New-Orleans. This fort was but three days' march for land forces from Pensacola, where the British had already hoisted their flag ; and from thence to New-Orleans, but ten days' march. By the possession of this fort at the mouth of the capacious bay of Mobile—the bay itself, and the adjoining country, the British land and naval forces would derive incalculable advantages. To secure it, therefore, was, in the view of the commanding general, of the utmost importance. But however important the measure, the means to accomplish it were altogether beyond his reach. Without a naval force to cover the fort, or to assist in its defence, with but a small regular force under his command at Mobile, and wholly uncertain when the forces from the distant state of Tennessee, and other places, would arrive, it would seem to have been the dictate, not only of the cardinal virtue of *prudence*, but of *fortitude* itself, to have evacuated the fort and the country at once. The gallant defence of this place, upon the 15th, Sept. although a severe mortification to the enemy, would induce them to send a force against it, absolutely irresistible. So insufficient were his means of defence, from the middle of September, to about the 20th October, and so overwhelming was the superiority of the enemy's force, and constantly augmenting, that had he, at this time, retired to New Orleans, with his little army, an unanimous sentence of approbation must have been pronounced by his countrymen. But his language was "RESTING ON THE BRAVERY OF MY LITTLE PHALANX, I HOPE FOR SUCCESS." Notwithstanding the discouraging aspect of affairs, it was at this period that he resolved, on his own responsibility, to march for Pensacola; and with his army—"*to carry our arms where we find our enemies.*"[*] Having been educated as a jurist, he was versed in the princples of the Law of Nations. He had a knowledge of the obligations which one government owes to another—he was aware of the acts which this code would justify in a *belligerent* power, and the duty it enjoined upon a power that was professedly a *neutral* one. The Spanish government at this time, in regard to the American Republic, was of the latter character by *profession*, and of the former one by *practice*. He determined to place himself within striking distance of the enemy, whether he found them devastating the territory of the Republic, or preparing to do it in the adjoining territory of another power. The propriety and legality of this measure will more properly be considered, when we have traced the life of Gen. Jackson to the year 1818, when he, a *second* time, carried the American arms to the capital of Florida.

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[*] Had it not been for some unaccountable neglect or design in the War Department, in July 1814, Gen. Jackson would not have been reduced to this dilemma. Upon *January* 17th, 1815, he received a letter from Mr. Armstrong, dated *July* 18th, 1814,

About the 25th October, the exhilarating intelligence was received at Mobile, that Gen. Coffee had arrived at Fort St. Stevens, with nearly 3000 "Tennessee Volunteers," and Mississippi Dragoons. The news operated upon the "little phalanx," like a shock of electricity upon the human system. Though previously resolved to follow their com-

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as Secretary of War, which says—"*If all the circumstances stated by you, unite, the conclusion is irresistible: It becomes our duty to carry our arms where we find our enemies.*" Mr. Armstrong, not long after this *date*, was succeeded in the war department, by Mr. Monroe. The whole of this letter may be seen by recurrence to the publications of that period.

mander to the cannon's mouth, and force their way into the fortress of the enemy, though bristled with bayonets, they became enthusiastic when they knew they were reinforced by veterans, to many of whom victory had become familiar, and who were ignorant of the name of fear. Gen. Jackson hastened to the encampment of his companion in arms. He might have said of Gen. Coffee, as Nelson said of Capt. Hardy—"*He is my right arm.*" They had travelled hand in hand, in the high road to conquest over savages, and were now again united in a desperate effort to save their country from subjugation and slavery, by the vaunting conquerors of the rights of man in Europe.

Many of the troops who arrived from Tennessee, and Mississippi, had seen no service, but they saw their beloved country endangered, and they immediately became practical, if not theoretical soldiers. Parts of the 3d, 39th, and 44th infantry of U. S. soldiers, were mingled with them. In a few days, they were all ready for an expedition to Pensacola, to "plant the *American Eagle,*" in the place of the *British Lion.**

Upon the 3d November, the army took up the line of march. Gen. Jackson commanded in person. Upon the 6th, he approached the place, and sent forward a flag to the governour at Fort St. George. In open violation of every principle of civilized warfare—-in flagrant contempt of the rights even of contending armies, Maj. Pierre, who bore the flag, was fired on by a cannon from the fort! It was courtesy alone, that induced Gen. Jackson to send the flag. His wish was, notwithstanding the previous insolence of governour Manrequez, to save the effusion of human blood, by a pacific interview, explaining the object of his visit; and had he immediately stormed the fort, and put the garrison to the sword, the laws of war would have justified the procedure. He encamped his troops for the night, and upon the morning of the 7th, "*proclaimed his diplomatic character from the mouths of his cannon.*"

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* A British flag had, for many days, been hoisted at the Spanish fort in Pensacola.

The general hastily and briefly describes the battle in the following letter, having subsequently made his report to the Secretary of War.

GEN. JACKSON to GOV. BLOUNT.

H. Q. 7th Military district,
Tensaw, Nov. 14, 1814.

Sir—On last evening I returned from Pensacola to this place. I reached that post on the evening of the 6th. On my approach I sent Major Pierre with a flag to communicate the object of my visit to the Governour of Pensacola. He approached Fort St. George, with his flag displayed, and was fired on by the cannon from the fort; he returned and made report thereof to me. I immediately went with the Adjutant-General and the Major, with a small escort, and viewed the fort, and found it defended by both British and Spanish troops. I immediately determined to storm the town; retired and encamped my troops for the night, and made the necessary arrangements to carry my determination into effect the next day.

On the morning of the 7th, I marched with the effective regulars of the 3d, 39th, and 44th infantry; part of Gen. Coffee's brigade; the Mississippi dragoons, and part of the West Tennessee regiment, commanded by Lieut. Col. Hammonds, (Col. Lowry having deserted and gone home,) and part of the Choctaws, led by Maj. Blue, of the 39th, and Maj. Kennedy, of Mississippi Territory. Being encamped on the west of the town, I calculated they would expect the assault from that quarter, and be prepared to rake me from the fort, and the British armed vessels, 7 in number, that lay in the bay. To cherish this idea, I sent out part of the mounted men to show themselves on the west, whilst I passed in rear of the fort undiscovered to the east of the town. When I appeared within a mile, I was in full view. My pride was never more heightened than in viewing the uniform firmness of my troops, and with what undaunted courage they advanced, with a strong fort ready to assail them on the right; seven British armed vessels on the left; strong block-houses and batteries of cannon in their front: but they still advanced with unshaken firmness, entered the town, when a battery of two cannon was opened upon the centre column, composed of regulars, with ball and grape, and a shower of musketry from the houses and gardens. The battery was immediately stormed by Capt. Levall and company, and carried, and the musketry was soon silenced by the steady and well directed fire of the regulars.

The governour met Cols. Williamson and Smith, who led the dismounted volunteers, with a flag, begged for mercy, and surrendered the town and fort, unconditionally. Mercy was granted and protection given to the citizens and their property, and still Spanish treachery kept us out of possession of the fort, until nearly 12 o'clock at night.

Never was more cool, determined bravery displayed by any troops; and the Choctaws advanced to the charge with equal bravery.

On the morning of the 8th, I prepared to march and storm theBarancas; but before I could move, tremendous explosions told me that the Barancas, with all its appendages, was blown up. I dispatched a datachment of two hundred men to explore it, who returned in the night with the information that it was blown up; all the combustible parts burnt, the cannon spiked and dismounted, except two. This being the case, I determined to withdraw my troops; but before I did, I had the pleasure to see the British depart. Col. Nicoll abandoned the fort on the night of the 6th, and betook himself to his shipping, with his friend Capt. Woodbine, and their red friends.

The steady firmness of my troops has drawn a just respect from our enemies. It has convinced the Red Sticks, that they have no strong hold or protection, only in the friendship of the United States. The good order and conduct of my troops whilst in Pensacola, has convinced the Spaniards of our friendship and our prowess, and has drawn from the citizens an expression, that *our Choctaws* are more civilized than the *British.*

In great haste, I am &c,
ANDREW JACKSON.

In this engagement, not an American lost his life. The gallant Capt. Levall, mentioned in the general's letter, commenced the attack, and fell desperately wounded at the head of his command, in storming the enemy's battery. The conduct of Gov. Manrequez, in the midst of the engagement, is a volume of commentary upon his previous conduct. "With a flag, he *begged* for mercy, and surrendered the town and fort, *unconditionally!*" Gen. Jackson might have said to him, as a gallant chieftain of antiquity did to a trembling and supplicating foe—"Be not as extreme in *submission* as in *offence.*" This generous commander felt a contemptuous pity for the humbled governour. He was aware that he was not a free agent, and of course, hardly an accountable being. He acted under duress from the imperious Col. Nicoll and Capt. Woodbine, who, no less terrified than the governour, fled in consternation to their shipping, before a gun was fired ; in which, if they could not withstand, they could flee from the vengeance of Republican Soldiers.

Soon after the terms of capitulation were agreed upon, the governour agreed also to surrender the *Barancas*, about fifteen miles to the westward. But in perfect consistency with Spanish faith, and British honour, it was blown up and completely demolished before it could be possessed by the American forces.

Gen. Jackson, having struck this important blow ; having convinced the hostile Indians, that Spaniards could not protect *them* ; and Spaniards, that the confident security they had placed in British protection, only exposed them to destruction, he immediately prepared to throw himself and his army, into the more exposed parts of the country. It excites astonishment that he should have left Mobile upon the 3d, arrived at Pensacola upon the 6th, captured it upon the 7th, agreed upon the surrender of the Barancas upon the 8th, and upon the 9th, have taken up the line of march for Mobile to defend Fort Bowyer. To this celerity of movement, and importance of measures, modern warfare scarcely furnishes a parallel. Gen. Jackson possesses one of the most essential attributes of a warrior—*promptitude.* He decides promptly, he executes promptly. He also possesses the rare quality of infusing into the hearts of his soldiers, the ardour that inspires his own.

While these events were transpiring in the eastern section of the 7th military district, the solicitude of the commander and of the whole adjoining country, was encreased for the safety of New Orleans, emphatically the key of the whole Western States and Territories.

Col. Nicoll, soon after his arrival at Pensacola, confident of success, and swelling with the "ungathered laurels" of anticipated victories, endeavoured to prepare the minds of Louisianians, Kentuckians, Tennesseeans, and the citizens of Mississippi, for the blessings of British dominion, to which they would shortly be subjected. Although his celebrated Proclamation has long been before the indignant reader, to hold that and him up again to contempt, I insert it in this work.

COL. NICOLL, TO LOUISIANIANS, KENTUCKIANS, &C.

"Natives of Louisiana! On you the first call is made, to assist in liberating from a faithless, imbecile government, your paternal soil: Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians, and British, whether settled, or residing for a time in Louisiana, on you, also, I call, to aid me in this just cause. The *American usurpation*, in this country must be abolished, and the *lawful owners* of the soil put in possession. I am at the head of a large body of Indians, well armed, disciplined, and commanded by British officers—a good train of artillery, with every requisite, seconded by the powerful aid of a numerous British and Spanish squadron of ships and vessels of war. Be not alarmed, inhabitants of the country, at our approach; the *same good faith* and disinterestedness, which has distinguished the conduct of Britons in *Europe*, accompanies them *here*; you will have no fear of *litigious taxes* imposed on you, for the purpose of carrying on an unnatural and unjust war; your property, your laws, the peace and tranquillity of your country, will be guaranteed to you by men, who will suffer no infringement of their's. Rest assured, that these brave red men only burn with an ardent desire of satisfaction, for the wrongs they have suffered from the *Americans*; to join you, in liberating these southern provinces from *their yoke*, and drive them into those limits, formerly prescribed by my sovereign. The Indians have pledged themselves in the most solemn manner, not to injure, in the slightest degree, the persons or properties of any, but enemies. A flag over any door, whether Spanish, French, or British, will be a certain protection; nor dare any Indian put his foot on the threshold thereof, under penalty of death from his own countrymen; not even an enemy, will an Indian put to death, except resisting in arms; and as for injuring helpless women and children, the red men, by their good conduct, and treatment to them, will (if it be possible) make the Americans blush for their more inhuman conduct lately on the Escambia; and within a neutral territory.

Inhabitants of Kentucky! you have too long borne with grievous impositions—the whole brunt of the war has fallen on your brave sons: be imposed on no longer, but either range yourselves under the *standard of your forefathers*, or observe a *strict neutrality.*

If you comply with either of these offers, whatever provisions you send down, will be *paid for in dollars, and the safety of the persons bringing it, as well as the free navigation of the Mississippi, guaranteed to you.* Men of Kentucky! let me call to your view, (and I trust to your abhorrence,) the conduct of those *factions*, which hurried you into this *civil*, *unjust*, *and unnatural war*, at a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve, in defence of her own, and the *liberties* of the world—when the bravest of her sons were fighting and bleeding in so sacred a cause—when she was spending millions of her treasure, in endeavouring to pull down one of the most formidable and dangerous tyrants, that ever disgraced the form of man—when groaning Europe was almost in her last gasp—when *Britons alone* showed an *undaunted front*—basely did those assassins endeavour to stab her from the rear; she has turned on them, *renovated* from the bloody, but successful struggle. *Europe* is *happy and free*, and she now hastens, justly, to revenge the unprovoked insult. Show them that you are not collectively unjust; leave that *contemptible few* to shift for themselves: let those slaves of the tyrant send an embassy to Elba, and implore his aid; but let every honest, upright American spurn them with united contempt. After the experience of *twenty-one* years, can you longer support those brawlers for liberty, who call it freedom, when themselves are free? Be no longer their dupes—accept of my offers—every thing I have promised in this paper, I guarantee to you, *on the sacred honour of a British officer.*

Given under my hand, at my head-quarters, *Pensacola*, this 29th day of August, 1814.

EDWARD NICOLL.

It would be difficult to determine whether weakness, ignorance, arrogance, or falsehood predominates in this British state paper; and whether it was the production of a cabinet council at London, or of the individual labour of the redoubted Col. Nicoll. It would be "stale, flat, and unprofitable," to analyze or criticise it. It evinces the weakness of the author, his ignorance of the American character, the arrogance of a coward, and the baseness of a scoundrel. The conduct of Nicoll at Pensacola, is a sufficient commentary upon his proclamation. Having duped the governour of Florida, and exposed his capital to destruction, he basely deserted him in his utmost need, and shewed, that with an ancient British Knight, he thought "the better part of valour is—discretion." Maj. Lawrence at Fort Bowyer, taught him, for the rest part of his life, to look *with a single eye.** No proclamation could be better calculated to call the gallant sons of Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi to the standard of the AMERICAN HERO, than this. They knew well how to distinguish between *his* patriotism and courage, and "*the sacred honour of a British officer.*" It will be remembered that another British officer, Gen. Brisbane, invited the citizens of New-York and Vermont, to flee to the standard of Sir Geo. Prevost at Plattsburg. They preferred that of Gen. Macomb ; and there taught the vaunting conquerors of Napoleon the same lesson at the *North*, which Gen. Jackson afterwards repeated to them at the *South*.

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* See Gen. Jackson's account of the defence of Fort Bowyer.

CHAPTER XIII.

Gen. Jackson's arrival at New Orleans—perilous situation of that place—reliance upon distant forces—his address to the people of Louisiana—timidity of the legislature—evidence of disaffection, and traitorous conduct—Declaration of Martial Law—Measures of defence—Arrival of reinforcements—Landing of the enemy—Battle of the 23d. December—Official report of it.

THE solicitude which Gen. Jackson felt for the safety of Mobile bay and Fort Bowyer, was now almost forgotten in the overwhelming anxiety he endured for the most important place in his district, and in some respects, in the Union—*New Orleans.* For a considerable period there had been no general officer in the 7th military district but himself, who was attached to the army of the United States, although with him there had long been one general officer who would adorn *any* service. At length Brig. Gen. Winchester, of U. S. army, arrived, and to him Gen. Jackson assigned the command of the eastern section of his district, and immediately repaired to New-Orleans.

He arrived at this place upon the 2d December, 1814. A mere casuist may wonder why the presence of a single individual at an exposed place, is an augury of its safety; but it is in vain for casuists, philosophers, or stoics, to laugh at a sentiment that is common to our nature. The presence of

WASHINGTON at *Trenton*, and of PUTNAM at *Bunker's Hill*, had the same effect upon citizens and soldiers, as that of JACKSON at *New Orleans*.

At no period since the declaration of American Independence in July 1776, to December 1814, had an American commander a duty of more importance and difficulty to discharge than had Gen. Jackson at this portentous period. At Mobile, with means apparently wholly insufficient, (to use his own language,) he had "a sickly climate, as well as an enemy to contend with."—At New Orleans he had to contend with the consternation of the citizens, the insolence of judicial power, and the timorous policy of the legislature of Louisiana ; as well as against the most powerful land and naval force, that had, for forty years, menaced any one place in the Republic. He had also to contend with the prejudices, the favouritism, and the perfidiousness of foreigners, a vast number of whom had migrated to Louisiana before its accession to the Republic, by Mr. Monroe's treaty.

Although the Proclamation of Nicoll, excites in the mind of an intelligent American reader, no feeling but that of ineffable contempt ; yet with the mixed population of Louisiana, its effects might be essentially different. Although amongst that population, were many native Americans of distinguished talents and patriotism, it is without a doubt the fact, that in 1814, a majority of its inhabitants were of foreign extraction ; and that much the most numerous class of foreigners were *Frenchmen*. They saw the same formidable power, that had recently taken the lead in conquering the conqueror of Europe, driving him into exile, and restoring Louis XVIII. to the French throne, now menacing Louisiana with a force, that seemed to be irresistible. *Spaniards*, in the same power, recognized the restorer of Ferdinand VII. *Englishmen*, dared not take up arms against their own countrymen unless certain of victory. Gen. Jackson was aware that in this discordant mass of people, there would be many who would not only neglect to repair to the American standard, but who would "give aid and comfort" to the enemy. He was also aware that energetic and coercive measures to detect domestic traitors, or to conquer a powerful foe, would meet with resistance from that undefined, and frequently unrestrained spirit of liberty, which foreigners, recently settled in the Republic, almost invariably manifest. But it was in vain for him to wish for a different state of things, or to pursue a course of conduct which a different state would have rendered judicious and expedient. He was compelled to act as circumstances dictated, without the power of changing them. Like a great man in danger, described by a great poet, with elegance—"*Serene and master of himself, he prepared for what might come, and left the rest to heaven.*"

Commander in chief of the extensive and important military district No. 7, he knew that the eyes and the hopes of the American people were fixed upon him, and "the little phalanx" who had followed him to victory. With many who knew the peril of his situation, these hopes were mingled with despair; but despair never produced its paralizing effects in the bosom of the general. In Gov. Claiborne of Louisiana, Gov. Blount of Tennessee, and Gov. Shelby of Kentucky, he felt a safe, a certain reliance, as he knew them to be patriotic statesmen of the first water. In Gen. Coffee and Gen. Carroll, and the gallant men who he knew would follow him to victory or to death, he could recognize officers and soldiers who would cheerfully unite with him and the small regular force he had under his command, at New Orleans. From Mississippi, he also felt the strongest assurance that his force would be augmented by many of its gallant soldiers, who had followed him in taking ample vengeance upon the Creeks, for the massacre at Tensaw, in their territory. It was still, however, wholly uncertain how soon an effective force, which would give any hopes of a successful defence of the place, would arrive. His first reliance was upon the Louisiana militia, upon whom, from circumstances already mentioned, he could place the least. He had a faithful coadjutor in Gov. Claiborne; and from Mr. Edward Livingston, derived every assistance which his great talents and influence enabled him to afford. Gen. Jackson addressed the citizens and soldiers of Louisiana, in the following impressive manner:—

"Natives of the United States! the enemy you are to contend with, are the oppressors of your infant political existence—they are the men your fathers fought and conquered, whom you are now to oppose.

Descendants of Frenchmen! natives of France! they are English, the hereditary, the eternal enemies of your ancient country, the invaders of that you have adopted, who are your foes. Spaniards! remember the conduct of your allies at St. Sebastian, and recently at Pensacola, and rejoice that you have an opportunity of avenging the brutal injuries inflicted by men who dishonour the human race. Louisianians! your general rejoices to witness the spirit that animates you, not only for your honour, but your safety; for whatever had been your conduct or wishes, his duty would have led, and yet will lead him, to confound the citizen, unmindful of his rights, with the enemy he ceases to oppose. Commanding men who know their rights, and are determined to defend them, he salutes you as brethren in arms; and has now a new motive to exert all his faculties, which shall be strained to the utmost, in your defence. Continue with the energy you have begun, and he promises you not only safety, but victory over an insolent foe, who has insulted you by an affected doubt of your attachment to the constitution of your country. Your enemy is near; his sails already cover the lakes: but the brave are united; and if he find us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of valour—and fame, its noblest reward."

Considering the nature of the people and of the troops he had to address, it is difficult to conceive of an appeal more appropriate. The native Americans are pointed to "*the oppressors of their infant political existence*"—the natives of France to the "*eternal enemy of their ancient country—the invaders of the one they had adopted*"—Spaniards too, are reminded of "*the brutal injuries inflicted*" upon their country, "*by men who dishonour the human race.*" It was *argumentum ad hominum*—an appeal to *men;* which is generally more effectual than arguments deduced from *principle.* But excepting with the American part of the population, it had no effect. Indeed, from European Spaniards but little exertion could be expected in the cause of the Republic, when they shortly expected to see the country they inhabited return to the Spanish yoke; and the Frenchmen there, who, a short period before, were vociferating, *Vive l'Empereur!* were now sending in their adhesions to Louis XVIII. and exclaiming, *Vive le Roi!*—So far from volunteering, they refused to comply with the military drafts that were made.

The disaffection of the few is easily checked, when the public functionaries discharge the necessary duties devolved upon them; but so far were the legislative and judiciary powers of the state, from calling in the power of law, to check the growing discontent, that they encouraged it by conniving at it. Governour Claiborne did every thing which a patriotic and vigilant executive could discharge; but a *majority* of the legislature, nerveless, timorous, and desponding, hung upon him like an *incubus*, and paralized all his exertions. In regard to this house of assembly, the governour might have said, "mine enemies are those of my own household."

From the Police of the city of New Orleans, no more hopes could be derived than from the majority of the legislature of the state; and some of its inhabitants were carrying on a treacherous intercourse with the enemy. The writer would not so confidently have stated the facts contained in this chapter, unless he had in his possession indubitable evidence of their accuracy. From the mass of testimony, the following is selected from the correspondence between Gov. Claiborne and Gen. Jackson. In one letter the governour says, "On a late occasion I had the mortification to acknowledge my inability to meet a requisition from Gen. Flournoy; the corps of this city having, for the most part, resisted my orders, being encouraged in their disobedience by the legislature of the state, then in session; one branch of which, the senate, having declared the requisition illegal and oppressive, and the house of representatives having rejected a proposition to approve the measure. How far I shall be supported in my late orders, remains yet to be proved. I have reason to calculate upon the patriotism of the interior and western counties. I know also that there are many faithful citizens in New-Orleans; but there are others, in whose attachment to the United States I ought not to confide. Upon the whole, Sir, I cannot disguise the fact, that if Louisiana should be attacked, we must principally depend for security upon the prompt movements of the regular force under your command, and the militia of the western states and territories. At this moment we are in a very unprepared and defenceless condition; several important points of defence remain unoccupied, and in case of a sudden attack, this capital would, I fear, fall an easy sacrifice."

In another letter, he most impressively remarks, —"Inclosed you have copies of my late general orders. They may, and I trust will, be obeyed; but to this moment, my fellow citizens have not manifested all that union and zeal, the crisis demands, and their own safety requires. There is in this city a much greater spirit of disaffection, than I had anticipated; and among the faithful Louisianians, there is a despondency which palsies all my preparations; they see no strong regular force, around which they could rally with confidence, and they seem to think themselves not within the reach of seasonable assistance, from the western states. I am assured, Sir, you will make the most judicious dispositon of the forces under your command; but excuse me for suggesting, that the presence of the seventh regiment, at or near New Orleans, will have the most salutary effect. The garrison here at present, is alarmingly weak, and is a cause of much regret: from the great mixture of persons, and characters, in this city, we have as much to apprehend from within, as from without. In arresting the intercoure between New Orleans and Pensacola, you have done right. Pensacola is in fact, an enemy's post, and had our commercial intercourse with it continued, the supplies furnished to the enemy, would have so much exhausted our own stock of provisions, as to have occasioned the most serious inconvenience to ourselves.

I was on the point of taking on myself, the prohibition of the trade with Pensacola: I had prepared a proclamation to that effect, and would have issued it the very day I heard of your interposition. Enemies to the country may blame you for your prompt and energetic measures; but, in the person of every patriot you will find a supporter. I am very confident of the very lax police of this city, and indeed throughout the state, with respect to the visits of strangers. I think with you, that our country is filled with spies and traitors. I have written pressingly on the subject, to the city authorities and parish judges—I hope some efficient regulations will speedily be adopted by the first, and more vigilance exerted for the future, by the latter."

In a third letter, the governour observes,—"The only difficulty I have hitherto experienced in meeting the requisition, has been in this city, and exclusively from some European Frenchmen, who, after giving their adhesion to Louis XVIII. have, through the medium of the French consul, claimed exemption from the drafts, as French subjects. The question of exemption, however, is now under discussion, before a special court of enquiry, and I am not without hopes, that these ungrateful men, may yet be brought to a discharge of their duties.

You have been informed of the contents of an intercepted letter, written by Col. Coliel, a Spanish officer, to Capt. Morales, of Pensacola. This letter was submitted for the opinion of the attorney general of the state, as to the measures to be pursued against the writer. The attorney general was of opinion, that the courts could take no cognizance of the same; but that the governour might order the writer to leave the state, and in case of refusal, to send him off by force. I accordingly, Sir, ordered Col. Coliel to take his departure, in forty-eight hours, for Pensacola, and gave him the necessary passports. I hope this measure may meet your approbation. It is a just retaliation for the conduct lately observed by the governour of Pensacola, and may induce the Spaniards residing among us, to be less communicative, upon those subjects which relate to our military movements."

In another letter, this patriotic chief magistrate says to Gen. Jackson, "If Louisiana is invaded, I shall put myself at the head of such of my militia as will follow me to the field, and on receiving, shall obey your orders." It will be remembered that the venerable Gov. Shelby, of Kentucky, served under Maj. Gen. Harrison, when he obtained his signal victory over Gen. Proctor. In addition to this explicit evidence, furnished by Gov. Claiborne, Charles K. Blanchard, Esq. writes to Gen. Jackson thus—"Quarter-master Peddie of the British army, observed [to me] that the commanding officers of the British forces, were daily in the receipt of every information from the city of New Orleans, which they might require in aid of their operations, for the completion of the objects of the expedition;—that they were perfectly acquainted with the situation of every part of our forces, the manner in which the same was situated, the number of our fortifications, their strength, position, &c. He furthermore stated, that the above information was received from persons in the city of New Orleans, from whom he could *at any hour*, procure *every* information necessary to promote his majesty's interest!!"

I have been thus particular in describing the situation in which Gen. Jackson found the citizens of Louisiana, its legislature, and its capital, upon his arrival there early in December, 1814, because it induced, and indeed compelled him to resort to a measure, which had never before been resorted to in the Republic, since the adoption of the Constitution—THE DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW. This took place upon the 16th of the month, twenty-three days before the splendid victory, which secured the city of New Orleans and the states bordering upon the Mississippi, from the rapacity of an enemy whose principles of warfare had been demonstrated, upon the western frontier, at Havre de Grace, at Hampton, and at Washington!

The proceedings of the legislature were suspended. But let the majority of the members, who then constituted it, remember, that the suspension of their civil power, was occasioned by their resistance of a *legal* military power. Gen. Jackson had been too long in the discharge of the highest civil functions, not to acknowledge the superiority of the *civil*, over the *military* power. He had been too long in military life, to be ignorant of the duties of an American General, to whom was committed the defence of a district, the safety of which was paramount to every other consideration.

The citizens of New Orleans, and its environs, were, for a few days deprived of their accustomed privileges. But the patriotic part of them, endured the deprivation with pleasure, since it prohibited the perfidious and traitorous part of them, from holding an intercourse with the enemy, calculated to aid them in the subjugation of it.

Gen. Jackson had been incessantly engaged, since his arrival, in selecting the most commanding scites for fortifications, near the mouth of the Mississippi. Fort St. Phillips, was selected as the most eligible one, and Maj. W. H. Overton was appointed to the command of it. His gallant defence of it, will constitute a subsequent article in these memoirs. The naval force near New Orleans, consisted of small gun vessels, under the command of Capt. Patterson. The gallantry, not to say desperation, with which they were defended, more properly belongs to the naval chronicle than to this work.

From the 16th, to the 22d December, the general, by his animation, vigilance, and exertions, seemed to magnify his little phalanx into a host, and to dissipate the despondency that pervaded the citizens, by the confidence his presence excited. Upon the last mentioned day, the reinforcements from Tennessee. under Generals Carroll and Coffee had arrived. Those under Gen. Coffee, were, the most of them, the same men who had encamped at Fort St. Stephens, two months previous, and who were present at the capture of Pensacola, upon the 7th November. From the time they left Tennessee, to the time they encamped at New Orleans, they had marched over 800 miles! The troops under the command of Gen. Carroll, were those recently raised by order of Gov. Blount, and but few of them had seen any service. They had suddenly repaired to their rendezvous at home; immediately entered the water craft in the Mississippi, and had no opportunity to study even the first principles of military tactics, before they were called to face a veteran foe, whose prowess was acknowledged through the world. The Mississippi Dragoons had also arrived, under the command of their accomplished leader, Maj. Hinds; and this heterogenous mass of *citizen-soldiers*, was converted, as by magic, into an army, whose achievements under their great leader, Gen. Jackson, will now be detailed. At this period, the Kentucky troops, raised by order of Gov. Shelby, and commanded by Maj. Gen. Thomas, had not arrived at New Orleans.

Previous to the 23d, the gun vessels had been captured by the enemy, with an overwhelming force, after a defence by Lieut. Thos. Ap. Catesby Jones, which "reflects additional splendour on our naval glory, and diminishes the regret felt by their loss."*

Upon the 23d, Maj. Gen. Keene landed nine miles below New Orleans, with 3000 men, enured to arms, and Gen. Jackson, with less than half that number of men, mostly militia, immediately marched to give him battle. His account of the contest follows.

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* Vide Capt. Patterson's, and Lieut. Jones' official reports.

MAJ. GEN. JACKSON to HON. JAMES MONROE.

Camp, below New Orleans, Dec. 27. 1814.

Sir—The loss of our gun boats near the pass of the Rigolets, having given the enemy command of lake Borgne, he was enabled to choose his point of attack. It became therefore an object of importance, to obstruct the numerous bayous and canals, leading from that lake to the highlands on the Mississippi. This important service was committed, in the first instance, to a detachment of the 7th regiment, afterwards to Col. De Laronde, of the Louisiana militia, and lastly, to make all sure, to Maj. Gen. Villere, commanding the district between the river and the lakes, and who, being a native of the country, was presumed to be best acquainted with all those passes. Unfortunately, however, a picquet which the general had established at the mouth of the bayou Bienvenu, and which, notwithstanding my orders, had been left unobstructed, was completely surprised, and the enemy penetrated through a canal leading to his farm, about two leagues below the city, and succeeded in cutting off a company of militia stationed there. This intelligence was communicated to me about 12 o'clock of the 23d. My force at this time, consisted of parts of the 7th and 44th regiments, not exceeding six hundred together, the city militia, a part of Gen. Coffee's brigade of mounted gunmen, and the detached militia from the western division of Tennessee, under the command of

Maj. Gen. Carroll. These two last corps were stationed 4 miles above the city. Apprehending a double attack by the way of Chef-Menteur, I left Gen. Carroll's force and the militia of the city, posted on the Gentilly road; and at five o'clock P. M. marched to meet the enemy, whom I was resolved to attack in his first position, with Maj. Hind's dragoons, Gen. Coffee's brigade, parts of the 7th and 44th regiments, the uniformed companies of militia, under the command of Maj. Planche, 200 men of colour, chiefly from St. Domingo, raised by Col. Savary, and acting under the command of Maj. Dagwin, and a detachment of artillery under the direction of Col. M'Rhea, with two 6 pounders, under the command of Lieut. Spotts; not exceeding in all, 1500. I arrived near the enemy's encampment about seven, and immediately made my dispositions for the attack. His forces amounting at that time on land, to about 3000, extended half a mile on that river, and in the rear nearly to the wood. Gen. Coffee was ordered to turn their right, while with the residue of the force, I attacked his strongest position on the left, near the river. Com. Patterson, having dropped down the river in the schooner Caroline, was directed to open a fire upon their camp, which he executed at about half past seven. This being a signal of attack, Gen. Coffee's men, with their usual impetuosity, rushed on the enemy's right, and entered their camp, while our right advanced with equal ardour. There can be but little doubt, that we should have succeeded on that occasion, with our inferiour force, in destroying or capturing the enemy, had not a thick fog which arose about 8 o'clock, occasioned some confusion among the different corps. Fearing the consequence, under this circumstance, of the further prosecution of a night attack, with troops then acting together for the first time, I contented myself with lying on the field that night; and at four in the morning assumed a stronger position, about two miles nearer the city. At this position I remained encamped, waiting the arrival of the Kentucky militia and other reinforcements. As the safety of the city will depend on the fate of this army, it must not be incautiously exposed.

In this affair the whole corps under my command, deserve the greatest credit. The best compliment I can pay to Gen. Coffee and his brigade, is to say, they behaved as they have always done, while under my command. The 7th led by Maj. Pierre, and 44th, commanded by Col. Ross, distinguished themselves. The battalion of city militia commanded by Maj. Planche, realized my anticipations, and behaved like veterans. Savary's volunteers manifested great bravery: and the company of city riflemen, having penetrated into the midst of the enemy's camp, were surrounded, and fought their way out with the greatest heroism, bringing with them a number of prisoners. The two field pieces were well served by the officers commanding them.

All my officers in the line did their duty, and I have every reason to be satisfied with the whole of my field and staff. Cols. Butler and Platt, and Maj. Chotard, by their intrepidity, saved the artillery. Col. Haynes was every where that duty or danger called. I was deprived of the services of one of my aids, Capt. Butler, whom I was obliged to station, to his great regret, in town. Capt. Reid, my other aid, and Messrs. Livingston, Duplissis, and Davizac, who had volunteered their services, faced danger wherever it was to be met, and carried my orders with the utmost promptitude.

We made one major, two subalterns, and sixty-three privates prisoners ; and the enemy's loss in killed and wounded must have been at least ——. My own loss I have not as yet been able to ascertain with exactness, but suppose it to amount to 100 in killed, wounded, and missing. Among the former I have to lament the loss of Col. Lauderdale, of Gen. Coffee's brigade, who fell while bravely fighting. Cols. Dyer and Gibson of the same corps, were wounded, and Maj. Kavenaugh taken prisoner.

Col. De Laronde, Maj. Villere, of the Louisiana militia, Maj. Latour, of engineers, having no command, volunteered their services, as did Drs. Kerr and Hood, and were of great assistance to me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Hon. James Monroe, Secretary of War.

Since the civilized world have made the trade of war a science, perhaps no two armies ever met and separated, with opinions so different of each, as those of Gen. Jackson and Gen. Keene, on the 23d. The first, consisting of a small number of regular troops, and the rest of gentlemen and yeomen, who had spent their days amidst the scenes of peace, the whole amounting only to 1500, must have met a veteran army of 3000, in field fight, with forebodings, bordering upon despair. The second, conscious of great superiority in numbers, in discipline, and in experience, marched to the contest with contempt for their enemy, and a certainty of making them their prey. The battle gave to the first, *confidence*—to the second, it taught *caution.*

As the general, in his official report, does not mention the number the enemy lost, I extract from Insp. Gen. Hayne's report, "*Killed*, left on the field of battle, 100—*Wounded*, left on the field of battle, 230—*Prisoners*, 70—total, 400." The loss in the American forces, were—Killed, 24—Wounded, 115—missing, 74—total, 213.

CHAPTER XIV.

Benevolent exertions of the Ladies of New Orleans—Gen. Jackson selects the final position of his army—Loss of the naval force—Capt. Patterson—Lieut. Jones—Harmony between land and naval forces—Defence at the mouth of the Mississippi—American lines on the east and west side of the river described—Battle of the 28th December—of the 1st January—Attempt upon the left wing of the American army.

THE battle of the 23d December, although by no means a decisive one, produced those effects which led to ultimate victory. The despondency of the citizens was converted into hope, and the undisciplined troops of the Republic, presented "*a rampart of high minded and brave men.*"

From the romantic age of chivalry, to this period of the world, the defence of the fair sex has been the pride of the warrior, and their approving sentence, one of his highest rewards. The ladies of New Orleans, not content merely to bestow their applause and their smiles upon their defenders, exerted all their faculties to ameliorate the hardships they endured, and to relieve them from the privations they suffered. Clothing of a necessary kind, was furnished to a large amount, for the troops, who, from long service and absence from home, found it a most seasonable supply. Almost constant exposure to the inclemency of the season, rendered an additional supply of clothing, a comfort to the war-worn veteran, which *he* knows well how to appreciate. Imitating the exalted benevolence of the American matrons and daughters, in the gloomy period of the revolution, the females of the city became ministering angels to the wants of their heroic protectors. The historian will immediately recollect, that the women of ancient Carthage, in a time of danger, divested themselves of their flowing locks, and converted them into cordage to aid the common defence. While the achievements of female Amazons, rather excite disgust than applause, the refined benevolence of the tender sex, commands the admiration of men; and even angels must witness it with the smile of complacency.

Notwithstanding the rigorous execution of martial law, over citizens as well as soldiers, the sullen murmurs of the disaffected were drowned by the applause of the patriotic. All was animation in the camp—all was confidence in the city. Gen. Jackson was in daily, indeed in hourly expectation, of a renewed attack from the enemy. Although the American troops remained upon the field of battle until the 24th, yet the disadvantages of the situation, and the continuance of the enemy in their first position where they landed, with nearly treble his force, induced him to fall back nearer to the city. Offensive operations, under these circumstances, would have been rashness bordering upon desperation.

Although from the gallant achievements of his troops upon the 23d, Gen. Jackson had every thing to hope from them, yet he did not, as has often been the case in modern warfare, consider *men* as *ammunition*, to be expended at pleasure, to grace the commander with laurels. His language to Mr. Monroe was—"*As the safety of this city, will depend on the fate of this army, it must not be incautiously exposed.*" He selected the most advantageous position, upon the east bank of the Mississippi, and commenced a system of defence, which will forever give him an exalted rank among the great commanders of the nineteenth century. Although, to use his own expressions, for which our copious language can with difficulty furnish a substitute—"*The surest defence, that seldom fails of success, is a rampart of high-minded and brave men*"—he acted in every situation, as if he was accountable to his country and his God, for the life of every man that was lost, who fought under his standard.

After the loss of the small flotilla under Lieut. Jones, there was no naval defence but the schooner Caroline, and she was placed in a situation, which, owing to the current of the Mississippi, and the course of the winds, rendered her an easy prey to the enemy. Her gallant crew, however, defended her until the red hot balls thrown from the enemy's battery, set her on fire and blew her up, upon the 27th. Capt. Patterson and all his officers and men, immediately placed themselves under the command of Gen. Jackson, and by their consummate skill in gunnery, rendered most essential service in the land batteries. I cannot omit a brief extract from Capt. Patterson's letter to the navy department, dated 27th Jan. 1815.—"I have received from all the officers whom I have the honour to command, every aid and support which could possibly be rendered. They have been exposed to extraordinary hardships, both by day and night, to all the changes of this unstable clime, in this inclement season of the year; performing the most arduous duties on shore, out of the line of their profession, independent of their ordinary duties; and all has been done and executed, with a cheerfulness and alacrity that reflects upon them the highest credit; and that the unwearied exertions of the small naval force on this station, from the first appearance of the enemy, has contributed, in a great degree, to his expulsion, is freely acknowledged by the gallant general, commanding the land forces." The officers mentioned in this letter, are Capt. Henley, Lieuts. Alexis, Thompson, Norris, and Cunningham; Mr. Purser Shields, Dr. Morrell, sailing-master Dealy, surgeon Heerman, navy-agent Smith, Maj. Cormick, commanding the marine corps, Mr. Shephard, aid-de-camp, Lieut. Nevitt, volunteer; acting Lieuts. Speddin and M'Keever. He further says—"my petty officers, seamen, and marines, performed their duties to my entire satisfaction."

It has already been mentioned that the gun boats, commanded by Lieut. Jones, were captured upon the 14th, and the commander severely wounded. His force was, Gun Boats, Nos. 5, 23, 156, 162, and 163—the whole mounting 23 guns, and having 183 men on board. The British force that attacked this little gallant flotilla, consisted of 45 boats—42 guns, and 1200 men, commanded by Capt. Lockyer, whose loss in killed and wounded exceeded 300 men ; and he received three severe wounds himself. Upon Lieut. Jones, Capt. Patterson bestows the highest applause ; and most deservedly too ; for considering the species of force he had under his command, and the immense superiority of the enemy, his gallantry is scarcely exceeded by any officer in our navy.

It ought to be mentioned, whenever an opportunity occurs, as a fact which entitles the commanders of the land and naval forces of the Republic, to infinite credit, that in every instance, excepting one, where they *could* act in conjunction in conquering the enemy, the utmost harmony prevailed. Gen. Harrison and Capt. Perry—Gen. Macomb and Capt. Macdonough—Gen. Jackson and Capt. Patterson, went hand in hand to victory. Although in the last instance, the captain was compelled to leave his chosen element, with his gallant crews, he joined the army, and aided in the final victory.

The various passes at the mouth of the Mississippi were guarded in the best possible manner, by different forts; and considering the short time allowed to construct them, and the few men only, who could be spared to garrison them, their defences entitle the garrisons to the highest applause. Maj. Overton, at Fort St. Phillips, determining never to surrender, actually nailed the American flag to his standard, and resolved that it should triumphantly wave over that of Britain, as long as a living man remained in the fort to defend it. The troops at the mouths of the river, were as much inspired with fortitude by the addresses and examples of Gen. Jackson, as those under his immediate command. Having these forts, as well as the current of the Mississippi to oppose, the British admiral was prevented from bringing any of his larger vessels, to co-operate with the land forces, in their various attacks upon the American lines. Had he been enabled to effect this, it is difficult to conceive how the city *could* have been saved.

Upon the 24th, Gen. Jackson took his final position. It extended in a direct line from the east bank of the Mississippi, into the edge of the *Cypress Swamp*, a distance exceeding a mile. For the whole distance, the troops almost incessantly laboured, and with a vigour worthy of the cause that called forth their laborious exertions, in throwing up a strong breast-work, under the protection of which they were to be intrenched. From the bank of the river to the edge of the Cypress Swamp, a distance of very near a mile, the country was a perfect plain. The small force under Gen. Jackson, were in full view of the vastly superiour force in the British camp. Although they had received a check in the brilliant affair of the 23d, it would seem to be the result of infatuation itself, that they remained unmoved spectators of the measures of defence, the American commander was taking, which, if prosecuted to completion, would render them hopeless of success. It is hazardous judging from appearances, without a knowledge of motives ; but the conduct of the British army, at this time, would seem to justify the application to them, of a position maintained for ages—" *Quem Deus perdere vult, prius dementiat*"—(whom God wills to destroy, he first makes mad.)

Adjoining the river, and in advance of the main work, a redoubt was formed to protect the right wing of the army, upon which were mounted a number of pieces of heavy artillery. Through the whole line were mounted, at proper distances, cannon from six to thirty-two-pounders. The breastwork was extended from 450 to 500 yards into the swamp, to prevent the enemy from turning the left wing of the army. This part of the intrenchment, was constructed with extreme difficulty, and with excessive fatigue ; being erected in a morass, almost impassable from the depth of the mud and water. It was wisely supposed that the British commander would conclude that the American intrenchment, reached only to the edge of the swamp ; and that he would endeavour to force a passage through it, and gain the rear of the American army. At the immediate edge of the swamp, an angular indent was made in the intrenchment, upon which heavy pieces of artillery were placed, so as to rake the enemy in the swamp, from one side of it, and in the open field, from the other. Every hour's labour increased the strength of the intrenchment, and every event that transpired, augmented the confidence of the troops. Notwithstanding the rapidly increasing security of his small, and to a very considerable amount, unarmed troops, Gen. Jackson endeavoured to provide against every event, that could endanger their safety, or that of the city. Admitting the possibility that the British army, from their great superiority in numbers, and from the numerous pieces of heavy ordnance they were constantly transporting in barges, from their shipping to their encampment, might force his lines, he dispatched the whole of his unarmed men two miles in his rear, to erect another breast-work, as a rallying point, at no great distance from the city. In this way, he furnished constant employ for all his men, prevented their despondency, and aroused their courage.

Gen. Jackson was aware that the enemy's main army had not yet, (Dec. 24,) landed, and wholly uncertain where they would make a descent, he took the same measures to fortify the country on the west, or right bank of the river, as he had upon the east, or left bank. An intrenchment was there thrown up from the bank of the river, extending west to a swamp, which approaches nearer to the river than that upon the east side. Gov. Claiborne and the Louisiana militia, being more perfectly acquainted with the country, were stationed on the right bank of the river. The gallant Capt. Patterson and his crew, had erected a battery near the bank of the river, and to the main intrenchment. This intrenchment was about three quarters of a mile below that on the left bank; and being supported by Patterson's battery, and his crew, whose skill in gunnery was evinced in the battle of the 23d, it was supposed as capable of sustaining and repelling an assault, as that on the left. The command of the right bank of the river, was entrusted to Gen. Morgan, and a force placed under his command sufficient to render it as secure as the left.

The description of the situation of the American forces after the 23d, and the measures then resorted to for future safety, may be deemed too minute; but it will shortly be shewn that more than two thirds of the loss sustained by the Republican army, in all the severe engagements before New Orleans, was suffered in that engagement, in the open field. Had Gen. Jackson, like a rash commander, led his few undisciplined, and badly armed forces, to *field fight*, against the immensely superiour force of Sir Edward Pakenham, furnished with every material and munition of war, it is almost a certainty, that he and his army, would have been prostrated upon the same plain where that gallant general, and so many of his veteran troops, were mingled with the dust. The great and good Gen. Jackson, knew that the men *he* commanded, were not mercenary troops, *hired* by a sanguinary monarch, to fight and to die at the pleasure of an ambitious commander. His army, though small, contained the best blood in the adjoining states. Fathers were there, exposing their lives for their families, and sons were there, fighting for their fathers. To return them home to a country defended by their valour, and to restore them to blessings secured by their toils, was far more grateful to his heart, than laurels obtained by *their* blood, to decorate *his* brows.

From the 24th to the 28th, the two armies remained in the position each had taken. Excepting the destruction of the schooner Caroline, and occasional skirmishing, nothing was heard but "dreadful notes of preparation." Having blown up this vessel, which committed such ravages among their troops upon the 23d, and having been reinforced, Sir Edward Pakenham, in person, attacked the American lines upon the 28th. The commander thus describes this engagement, in his report to the Secretary of War.

Gen. JACKSON to Hon. JAMES MONROE.

Head Quarters, 7th military district,
Camp below *New Orleans*, 29th Dec. 1814.

Sir—The enemy succeeded on the 27th, in blowing up the Caroline, (she being becalmed) by means of hot shot from a land battery which he had erected in the night. Emboldened by this event, he marched his whole force the next day, up the level, in the hope of driving us from our position, and with this view, opened upon us, at the distance of about half a mile, his bombs and rockets. He was repulsed, however, with considerable loss—not less, it is believed, than 120 in killed. *Our's* was inconsiderable—not exceeding half a dozen in killed, and a dozen wounded.

Since then, he has not ventured to repeat his attempt, though lying close together. There has been frequent skirmishing between our picquets.

I lament that I have not the means of carrying on more offensive operations. The Kentucky troops have not arrived, and my effective force, at this point, does not exceed 3000. *Their's* must be at least double—both prisoners and deserters agreeing in the statement, that 7000 landed from their boats.

ANDREW JACKSON.

In this brief account, it is mentioned that rockets and bombs were sent from the British army into the American lines. Bombs have long been known to our countrymen ; and although they sometimes occasion accidents, they never excite terrour. Rockets are of recent invention ; and the glory of having invented them is forever secured by royal favour, to an English statesman, by the name of *Congreve*. They are called " Congreve rockets ;" and as long as Englishmen are permitted to spread havock and devastation through the world, the name of the *humane* inventor, will sound and shine through it. Monsieur *Guillotin* is entitled to the same kind of glory, for having invented an implement of death, which bears his name, and, to which he fell a victim himself. Mr. Congreve *may* die a natural death. Gen. Jackson's intrenchment had already acquired too much strength, and his " rampart of high minded and brave men," too much confidence to be affected with any thing but solid iron or lead.

Sir Edward found in this, his first essay, in the eastern world, that he had to contend with other soldiers than those of despots, who detest the power they fight for. He had to contend with Republican Freemen, each of whom had sacred rights to defend ; and who were ready to sacrifice their lives, in defence of their beloved Republic.

From the 28th to the 1st January, the enemy were incessantly engaged in strengthening their force by transporting heavy pieces of artillery from their shipping to their lines. The Americans were no less industriously engaged in preparing to defend their's against the most furious onset that *could* be made.

Upon the 1st January, the enemy pushed forward the whole of their heavy artillery, and at the same time, with bombs and rockets, commenced an attack upon the whole line, from the Mississippi to the Cypress Swamp. They were immediately answered by the heavy messengers of death that were planted upon the extensive intrenchment, and by the rifles and muskets that were wielded by the troops who were secured behind it. The battle raged until the approach of darkness induced the British assailants, to retire to their lines for safety. The enemy were repulsed with great loss ; but having carried their dead and wounded from the field, the number could not be ascertained. The loss of the Americans was—killed 11—wounded 23—Total 34.

Convinced that an attack in line, could not be made with any hopes of success, they next attempted to turn the left wing of the army, by means of a battery they had erected in the night season, and in a foggy morning, in the edge of the Swamp. Confident of accomplishing this object—as the sun appeared through the fog, to their utter astonishment and consternation, they found the American intrenchment completed 300 yards beyond their battery in the Swamp, and the gallant Gen. Coffee and his Tennessee Volunteers, ready to repel them. Their battery was destroyed—many lives were lost, and the assailants precipitately retreated to their camp.

By these repeated attempts, and as often unsuccessful ones, the British commander was experimentally convinced, that some mode yet unessayed, must be adopted to gain a victory which his countrymen expected, and even Americans feared, he would obtain. No British commander in chief, since the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army, by Washington, which terminated the war of the Revolution, had a duty of more peril and importance to perform, than had Sir Edward Pakenham, before New Orleans. Had he gained a victory over Gen. Jackson, as Wellington did over Napoeon, he would as well have been entitled to a dukedom. He resolved not to despair, but to make another desperate effort, to acquire equal glory in the western, as Arthur Wellesley has in the eastern world.

CHAPTER XV.

Gen. Jackson's, and Sir Edward Pakenham's armies from the 1st, to 8th January—Gen. Morgan's lines—Battle of the 8th January—Gen. Jackson's report of it—Gen. Morgan's retreat—Gen. Jackson's address to the armies—he regains the right bank of the Mississippi—Bombardment, and attack upon Fort St. Phillips—Maj. Overton's report to Gen. Jackson.

THE rival armies—the one under the standard of the Eagle, the other under that of the Lion, for a short period gazed at each other in silent majesty. The armies of the Prince Regent, having met with nothing but disasters, during the whole campaign of 1814, had concentrated their forces with the navy, before New Orleans, with a determination to wipe off the disgrace they had incurred, by a series of almost uninterrupted defeats. The history of some of their achievements thus far, has necessarily been blended with the Memoirs of Gen. Jackson. From no army sent to America, since the commencement of the war of the revolution, to this period, had sanguinary Englishmen expected so much, as from this. One of the first officers under Wellington, Sir Edward Pakenham, was selected as its commander. Major-generals Keane, Gibbs, and Lambert, were generals of divisions. Most of the troops were those who had followed them, in their victorious career through the Pyrennees, into the heart of France, and who had assisted in gaining victories over the first Marshals in Europe. In these considerations, may be found the reasons for the desperation, not to say infatuation, of the British officers, after they landed in Louisiana. They seemed to have adopted the sentiment of Napoleon, in the days of his glory, that "troops who had always conquered, will continue to conquer."

Gen. Jackson, undismayed, and apparently unconcerned, instead of concealing himself in his head-quarters in the rear of his intrenchment, was constantly with his officers and troops, encouraging them by his example, animating them by his presence, and arousing their patriotism by the most impassioned eloquence. Upon the 4th, the Kentucky militia arrived, under Gen. Thomas and Gen. Adair. They amounted to about twenty-three hundred; but they brought very little with them, excepting hearts glowing with patriotic ardour. But little disciplined, and almost without arms, as the general remarked to the Secretary of War—" My forces, as to *number* had been encreased—my *strength*, had received but very little addition." The city of New Orleans had been almost completely stripped of arms, to furnish the Louisiana militia, and the United States' arms which were known to be in the Mississippi, by some unaccountable neglect, had not yet arrived. The unarmed troops, however, were immediately placed in situations to be the most serviceable in strengthening the main intrenchment, and forwarding the one two miles in the rear.

The reader is referred to the description of the American intrenchments on each side of the Mississippi, in the preceding chapter. Gen. Jackson, had so divided his forces, as to render the one as secure as the other. The British commander, resolved, as appeared from an order found in the pocket of a slain British officer, and by his subsequent measures, to attack both lines simultaneously. This was anticipated by Gen. Jackson, and measures were taken accordingly. Gen. Morgan, on the right bank of the river, was aided by the consummate skill and courage of Capt. Patterson, whose battery was so situated as to protect *his* lines, and annoy the enemy in the most effectual manner. A detachment of choice Kentucky troops was also passed over the river, to give him additional strength. Gen. Jackson's forces were thus stationed—The regular troops in the redoubt, and on the right next to the river—Gen. Carroll's Tennessee militia, and Gen. Adair's Kentucky militia, in the centre—and Gen. Coffee's brigade upon the left, which penetrated some distance into the Cypress Swamp.

The British army had been reinforced by the landing of Maj. Gen. Lambert's division. It has been ascertained to be an undoubted fact, that from the time the British commenced the landing of troops below New Orleans, the full amount of 14,000 men, had been placed under the command of Sir Edward Pakenham. It is impossible to determine how many had been lost in the several engagements, from the 23d December, to the 8th January, or how many, upon that day, were upon the sick list. It would not, however, be deemed improbable, to conclude that from 10 to 12,000, were engaged, about double the effective force of Gen. Jackson.

Early upon the morning of the 8th January, 1815, a day which will forever be memorable in American and British annals, a tremendous "shower of bombs and Congreve rockets," from the British army, announced the battle begun. The result will be found in the following reports, of the American Conqueror.

GEN. JACKSON to HON. JAMES MONROE.

Camp 4 miles below *New Orleans.*
9th January, 1815.

Sir—During the days of the 6th and 7th, the enemy had been actively employed in making preparations for an attack on my lines. With infinite labour, they had succeeded on the night of the 7th, in getting their boats across from the lake to the river, by widening and deepening the canal on which they had effected their disembarkation. It had not been in my power to impede these operations by a general attack: added to other reasons, the nature of the troops under my command, mostly militia, rendered it too hazardous to attempt extensive *offensive* movements in an open country, against a numerous and well disciplined army. Although my forces, as to number, had been increased by the arrival of the Kentucky division, my strength had received very little addition; a small portion only of that detachment being provided with arms. Compelled thus to wait the attack of the enemy, I took every measure to repel it, when it should be made, and to defeat the object he had in view. Gen. Morgan, with the New Orleans contingent, the Louisiana militia, and a strong detachment of the Kentucky troops, occupied an intrenched camp on the opposite side of the river, protected by strong batteries on the bank, erected and superintended by Com. Patterson.

In *my* encampment, every thing was ready for action, when, early on the morning of the 8th, the enemy, after throwing a heavy shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, advanced their columns on my right and left, to storm my intrenchments. I cannot speak sufficiently in praise of the firmness and deliberation, with which my whole line received their approach—*more* could not have been expected from veterans inured to war. For an hour, the fire of the small arms was as incessant and severe as can be imagined. The artillery, too, directed by officers who displayed equal skill and courage, did great execution. Yet the columns of the enemy continued to advance, with a firmness which reflects upon them the greatest credit. Twice, the column which approached me on my left, was repulsed by the troops of Gen. Carroll, those of Gen. Coffee, and a division of the Kentucky militia, and twice they formed again and renewed the assault. At length however, cut to pieces, they fled in confusion from the field, leaving it covered with their dead and wounded. The loss which the enemy sustained on this occasion, cannot be estimated at less than 1500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Upwards of three hundred have already been delivered over for burial; and my men are still engaged in picking them up within my lines, and carrying them to the point where the enemy are to receive them. This is in addition to the dead and wounded, whom the enemy have been enabled to carry from the field, during, and since the action, and to those who have since died of the wounds they received. We have taken about 500 prisoners, upwards of 300 of whom are wounded, and a great part of them mortally. My loss has not exceeded, and I believe has not amouuted to, ten killed, and as many wounded. The entire destruction of the enemy's army was now inevitable, had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence, which at this moment took place on the other side of the river. Simultaneously with his advance upon my lines, he had thrown over in his boats, a considerable force to the other side of the river. *These* having landed, were hardy enough to advance against the works of Gen. Morgan; and what is strange and difficult to account for, at the very moment when their entire discomfiture was looked for with a confidence approaching to certainty, the Kentucky reinforcements, ingloriously fled, drawing after them, by their example, the remainder of the forces; and thus yielding to the enemy, that most fortunate position. The batteries which had rendered me, for many days, the most important service, though bravely defended, were of course now abandoned; not however, until the guns had been spiked.

This unfortunate route, had totally changed the aspect of affairs. The enemy now occupied a position from which they might annoy us without hazard, and by means of which, they might have been enabled to defeat, in a great measure, the effects of our success, on this side the river. It became therefore, an object of the first consequence to dislodge him as soon as possible. For this object, all the means in my power, which I could with any safety use, were immediately put in preparation. Perhaps, however, it was somewhat owing to another cause, that I succeeded, beyond my expectations. In negociating the terms of a temporary suspension of hostilities, to enable the enemy to bury their dead, and provide for their wounded, I had required certain propositions to be acceded to as a basis; among which, this was one—that although hostilities should cease on *this* side the river until 12 o'clock of this day, yet it was not to be understood, that they should cease on the *other* side; but that no reinforcements should be sent across by *either* army, until the expiration of that day. His Excellency Maj. Gen. Lambert, begged time to consider of those propositions until 10 o'clock of to-day, and in the mean time re-crossed his troops. I need not tell you with how much eagerness I immediately regained possession of the position he had thus hastily quitted.

The enemy having concentrated his forces, may again attempt to drive me from my position, by storm. Whenever he *does*, I have no doubt my men will act with their usual firmness, and sustain a character, now become dear to them.

I have the honour, &c.
ANDREW JACKSON.

It will be noticed in this acount, that Gen. Jackson, while he bestows the most unqualified approbation upon his own brave troops, does not omit to declare, that the "columns of the enemy continued to advance, with a firmness which reflects upon them the highest credit." A brave man is always generous to a brave foe; and although a fallen one, withholds from him no credit that is justly his due. The general estimates the loss of the enemy, at scarcely half what it really was; for although the Inspector-general, Haynes, makes it 2,600, subsequent acknowledgments, from British prisoners, makes it exceed 3000.

The agitation felt by the general, at the loss of the important post on the right bank of the river.

under Gen. Morgan, is clearly discoverable in the language he uses; and it has been said that he was too severe in saying, "The Kentucky reinforcements ingloriously fled." He immediately delivered to them, the following elegant address, in which he gives them the fullest credit, for courage, except in this instance.

"While, by the blessing of heaven, one of the most brilliant victories was obtained by the troops under my immediate command, no words can express the mortification I felt, at witnessing the scene exhibited on the opposite bank. I will spare your feelings and my own, nor enter into detail on the subject. To all who reflect, it must be a source of eternal regret, that a few moments' exertion of that *courage* you certainly possess, was alone wanting, to have rendered your success more complete, than that of your fellow-citizens in this camp. To what cause was the abandonment of your lines owing? To fear? No! You are the countrymen, the friends, the brothers of those who have secured to themselves, by their *courage*, the gratitude of their country; who have been prodigal of blood in its defence, and who are strangers to any other fear than disgrace—to disaffection to our glorious cause. No, my countrymen, your general does justice to the pure sentiments by which you are inspired. How then could *brave men*, firm in the cause in which they were enrolled, neglect their first duty, and abandon the post committed to their care? The want of discipline, the want of order, a total disregard to obedience, and a spirit of insubordination, not less destructive than cowardice itself, are the causes which led to this disaster, and they must be eradicated, or I must cease to command. I desire to be distinctly understood, that every breach of orders, all want of discipline, every inattention of duty, will be seriously and promptly punished; that the attentive officers, and good soldiers, may not be mentioned in the disgrace and danger, which the negligence of a few may produce. Soldiers! you want only the will, in order to emulate the glory of your fellow-citizens on this bank of the river—You have the same motives for action—the same interest—the same country to protect: and you have an additional interest, from past events, to wipe off reproach, and show that you will not be inferiour, in the day of trial, to any of your countrymen.

But, remember, without obedience, without order, without discipline, all your efforts are vain. The *brave man*, inattentive to his duty, is worth little more to his country, than the coward who deserts her in the hour of danger.

Private opinions, as to the *competency* of officers, must not be indulged, and still less expressed. It is impossible that the measures of those who command, should satisfy all who are bound to obey; and one of the most dangerous faults in a soldier, is a disposition to criticise and blame the orders and characters of his superiours. *Soldiers!* I know that many of you have done your duty; and I trust, in future, that I shall have no reason to make any exception. *Officers!* I have the fullest confidence that you will enforce obedience to your commands; but above all, that by subordination in your different grades, you will set an example to your men; and that hereafter, the army of the right will yield to none, in the essential qualities which characterize good soldiers—that they will earn their share of those honours and rewards, which their country will prepare for its *deliverers*."

Gen. Jackson, took immediate measures to regain, by *force*, the important post on the right bank of the Mississippi; but ever anxious to spare the effusion of human blood, he obtained it by *negociation*, as mentioned in his letter to the Secretary of War. The relinquishment of this post, seems to be the result of that infatuation which evinced itself in every measure of the British commanders, after they landed in Louisiana. Had they abandoned the east side of the river, and concentrated their forces upon the west, with the immense quantity of heavy artillery in their possession, they would have had the exclusive command of the country to New Orleans; and what could then have saved the city, must be left to conjecture. Hence the solicitude of Gen. Jackson, to regain it; hence too, his excessive mortification at its temporary loss.

Notwithstanding the unparalleled victory obtained, it appears from the following letter, that the general acted as if the enemy were preparing "*to make a still mightier effort to attain his first object.*"

GEN. JACKSON to HON. JAMES MONROE.

Head-Quarters, Camp 4 miles below
New Orleans, Jan. 13th, 1815.

Sir—At such a crisis, I conceive it my duty, to keep you constantly advised of my situation.

On the 10th instant, I forwarded you an account of the bold attempt made by the enemy, on the morning of the 8th, to take possession of my works by storm, and of the severe repulse which he met with. That report having been sent by the mail which crosses the lake, may possibly have miscarried; for which reason, I think it the more necessary, briefly to repeat the substance of it.

Early on the morning of the 8th, the enemy having been actively employed the two preceding days, in making preparations for a storm, advanced in two strong columns on my right and left. They were received, however, with a firmness which it seems they little expected, and which defeated all their hopes. My men, undisturbed by their approach, which indeed they long anxiously wished for, opened upon them a fire, so deliberate and certain, as rendered their scaling ladders and fascines, as well as their more direct implements of warfare, perfectly useless. For upwards of an hour it was continued with a briskness of which there have been but few instances, perhaps, in any country. In justice to the enemy, it must be said, they withstood it as long as could be expected, from the most determined bravery. At length, however, when all prospect of success became hopeless, they fled in confusion from the field, leaving it covered with their dead and wounded. Their loss was immense. I had at first computed it at 1500; but it is since ascertained to have been much greater. Upon information, which is believed to be correct, Col. Haynes, the Inspector-general, reports it to be in total 2600. His report I inclose you. My loss was inconsiderable, being only 7 * killed, and 6 wounded. Such a disproportion in loss, when we consider the number and the kind of troops engaged, must, I know, excite astonishment, and may not every where be fully credited; yet I am perfectly satisfied that the account is not exaggerated on the one part, nor underrated on the other.

The enemy having hastily quitted a post, which they had gained possession of, on the other side of the river, and we, having immediately returned to it, both armies at present, occupy their former positions. Whether, after the severe losses he has sustained, he is preparing to return to his shipping, or to make still mightier efforts to attain his first object, I do not pretend to determine. It becomes

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*This was in the action on the line—afterwards a skirmishing was kept up, in which a few more of our men were lost.

me to act as though the latter were his intention. One thing, however, seems certain, that if he still calculates on effecting what he has hitherto been unable to accomplish, he must expect considerable reinforcements; as the force with which he landed must be undoubtedly diminished, by at least 3000. Besides the loss which he sustained, on the night of the 23d ult. which is estimated at 400, he cannot have suffered less between that period, and the morning of the 8th inst. than 3000—having, within that time, been repulsed in two general attempts to drive us from our position, and there having been continual cannonading and skirmishing, during the whole of it. Yet he is still able to shew a very formidable force.

There is no doubt that the commanding general, Sir Edward Pakenham, was killed, in the action of the 8th, and that Major-generals Keane, and Gibbs, were badly wounded.

Whenever a more leisure moment shall occur, I will take the liberty to make and forward you a more circumstantial account, of the several actions, and particularly that of the 8th, in doing which, my chief motive will be to render justice to those brave men I have the honour to command, and who have so remarkably distinguished themselves.

I have the honour, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON.

The rival armies upon the 9th, were restored to their former positions; and both were ignorant of the intentions of each other. Sir Edward Pakenham being slain, and Generals Keane and Gibbs, being, the one mortally, and the other severely wounded, were compelled, the one to languish and die, the other to languish and barely survive. The command devolved upon Maj. Gen. Lambert. The deep penetration of Gen. Jackson, might well lead him to suppose that Gen. Lambert, and Col. Thornton, (who had once conquered on the right bank of the river) would unite their "mightier efforts," to conquer on the east. Ever vigilant, and never remiss, he relaxed not in the least from his former energy. The plains of *Capua*, after a victory, and the luxurious indulgence of the fruits of conquest upon them, proved to be the destruction of Hannibal and his army. Gen. Jackson was resolved, that the banks of the Mississippi should not prove so to him, and his patriotic companions.

While every exertion was made to prepare for another attack, the distant thunder of cannon, announced to the armies, the operations of the powerful British naval force at the mouth of the Mississippi. From the official report of Maj. Overton, to Gen. Jackson, it may be concluded that Admiral Cochrane, and Sir Edward Pakenham, had agreed to commence final operations at the same time—the one to capture New Orleans, the other to destroy the American forts at the mouth of the river. Upon the memorable 8th January, a squadron of the British naval force appeared before Fort St. Phillips. Gen. Jackson, thus writes to the Secretary at War—"I have the honour to inclose you Maj. Overton's report, of the attack of Fort St. Phillips, and of the manner in which it was defended. The conduct of that officer, and of those who acted under him, merits, I think, great praise. They nailed their own colours to the standard, and placed those of the enemy underneath them, determined never to surrender the fort." The following is the report alluded to by the general.

MAJ. W. H. OVERTON to GEN. JACKSON.

Fort St. Phillips, January 19, 1815.

Sir—On the first of the present month, I received the information, that the enemy intended passing this fort, to co-operate with their land forces, in the subjugation of Louisiana, and the destruction of New Orleans. To effect this with more facility, they were first, with their heavy bomb-vessels, to bombard this place into compliance. On the grounds of this information, I turned my attention to the security of my command. I erected small magazines in different parts of the garrison. that if one blew up, I could resort to another; built covers for my men, to secure them from the explosion of the shells, and removed the combustible matter without the work. Early in the day of the 8th inst. I was advised of their approach, and on the 9th, at a quarter past 10, A. M. hove in sight, two bomb vessels, one sloop, one brig, and one schooner; they anchored two and one quarter miles below—at half past eleven, and at half past twelve, they advanced two barges, apparently for the purpose of sounding within one and a half miles of the fort. At this moment, I ordered my water battery, under the command of Lieut. Cunningham of the navy, to open upon them: its well directed shot, caused a precipitate retreat. At half past three o'clock, P. M. the enemy's bomb-vessels opened their fire, from four sea-mortars, two of thirteen inches, two of ten, and to my great mortification, I found they were without the effective range of my shot, as many subsequent experiments proved. They continued their fire, with little intermission, during the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th. I occasionally opened my batteries on them with great vivacity, particularly when they showed a disposition to change their position.

On the 17th, in the evening, our heavy mortar was said to be in readiness. I ordered that excellent officer, Capt. Wolstoncroft, of the artillerists, who previously had charge of it, to open a fire, which was done with great effect, as the enemy from that moment became disordered, and at day-light on the 18th, commenced their retreat, after having thrown upwards of a thousand heavy shells, besides shells from howitzers, round shot and grape, which he discharged from boats, under cover of the night.

Our loss in this affair, has been uncommonly small, owing entirely to the great pains that were taken by the different officers, to keep their men under cover; as the enemy left scarcely ten feet of this garrison untouched.

The officers and soldiers through this whole affair, although nine days and nights under arms, in the different batteries, the consequent fatigue and loss of sleep, have manifested the greatest firmness, and the most zealous warmth to beat the enemy. To distinguish individuals, would be a delicate task, as merit was conspicuous every where. Lieut. Cunningham of the navy, who commanded my water battery, with his brave crew, evinced the most determined bravery, and uncommon activity throughout; in fact, Sir, the only thing to be regretted, is, that the enemy was too timid to give us an opportunity of destroying him.

I herewith inclose you, a list of the killed and wounded. I am Sir, very respectfully,

W. H. OVERTON.

The loss of the Americans, from the official report, was killed 2—wounded 7—Total 9.—Nothing but the immense importance of the post he commanded, can justify Maj. Overton in nailing his colours to his standard. Even the praise of Gen. Jackson, cannot wholly exculpate a commander for an act, which *might* have led to the sacrifice of his *whole* garrison, by a force, to contend with which would have been desperation.

CHAPTER XVI.

Situation of the armies after the battle of the 8th January—Melancholy and distressing scene—Operations at the mouth of the Mississippi—Departure of the enemy—Gen. Jackson's address to the American troops—Disparity in the loss of the two armies.

ALTHOUGH the American army under Gen. Jackson, and the British army under Gen. Lambert, remained in full view of each other, from the 9th, to the 18th, no hostile military operations took place between them, during that time. The first were preparing for a renewed attack, enjoying the repose their valour had rendered secure, and which, many days of excessively hard labour, and a number of severe fighting, rendered peculiarly necessary. The last were employed in discharging the most melancholy duties of the camp. The soldiers were engaged in depositing in the bosom of the earth, their slain comrades, who had for many days previous, fought by their sides upon its surface, and assuaging the distresses of the wounded, who yet survived. Humanity must weep over such a scene; and in the death and anguish of the gallant, and comparatively innocent soldiers of England, for a season forget the wicked cause in which they fell—the cause of tyranny against freedom. Even the patriotic soldiers of our beloved Republic, in beholding the banks of the majestic Mississippi, converted into an outspread sepulchre for veteran foemen, who had one common origin with themselves, must have dropped a manly tear. But how soon will reflection compel them to pour forth the most indignant imprecations against the British government, whose systematic injustice first occasioned the war, and against the British officers, whose Vandalism and barbarity, even charity itself can never forgive. It must crimson with a blush every Englishman, who reads the history of the nineteenth century, when he finds it recorded, that an officer, the pride of England, confident of capturing one of the finest cities in America, gave as a *countersign*, upon the day his army was to enter it—"BOOTY and BEAUTY !!" The hard earnings of patient industry, were to be ravished from the defenceless citizens, and their wives and daughters to be subjected to the diabolical lust of a full-gorged soldiery. The innocent and accomplished females, of New Orleans, who had spent days of labour, and nights of watchfulness, in alleviating the toils of their valiant countrymen, while stationed under the banners of the Republic, were to suffer more than ten thousand deaths could inflict, before the very eyes of those who had blessed them for their bounty, but who could no longer extend to them protection. Well may the English reader exclaim with an ancient poet—"*Quis temperet a lachrymis, talia fando*," (who can refrain from tears in relating such deeds ;) and well may the patriotic sons of Columbia, when thinking of their implacable enemy, resolve to be,

"Fire to fire, flint to flint, and to outface
"The brow of bragging horrour."

It would seem that Gen. Lambert, had determined to maintain his position upon the Mississippi, until he learned the result of the naval operations at its mouth. Upon the 17th, Capt. Wolstoncroft, of the artillerists, having taken a position which brought the British shipping within the range of his mortar, immediately threw them into disorder, and compelled them to retire. Upon the 18th, Gen. Lambert, having had time to receive this discouraging intelligence, decamped in the night season, as appears from the following official communication.

Gen. JACKSON, to Hon. JAMES MONROE.

Camp below *New Orleans*, 19th Jan. 1815.

Last night at 12 o'clock, the enemy precipitately decamped and returned to their boats, leaving behind him, under medical attendance, eighty of his wounded, including two officers, 14 pieces of his heavy artillery, and a quantity of shot, having destroyed much of his powder. Such was the situation of the ground he abandoned, and of that through which he retired, protected by canals, redoubts, intrenchments and swamps on his right, and the river on his left, that I could not without encountering a risk, which true policy did not seem to require, or to authorise, attempt to annoy him much on his retreat. We took only eight prisoners.

Whether, it is the purpose of the enemy to abandon the expedition altogether, or renew his efforts at some other point, I do not pretend to determine with positiveness. In my own mind, however, there is but little doubt, that his last exertions have been made in this quarter; at any rate for the present season, and by the *next*, I hope we shall be fully prepared for him. In this belief, I am strengthened, not only by the prodigious loss he has sustained at the position he had just quitted, but by the failure of his fleet to pass Fort St. Phillips.

His loss on the ground, since the debarkation of his troops, as stated by the last prisoners and deserters, and as confirmed by many additional circumstances, must have exceeded four thousand; and was greater in the action of the 8th, than was estimated, from the most correct data, then in his possession, by the inspector-general, whose report has been forwarded to you. We succeeded, on the 8th, in getting from the enemy about 1000 stand of arms of various descriptions.

Since the action of the 8th, the enemy have been allowed very little respite—my artillery from both sides of the river, being constantly employed, till the night, and indeed until the *hour* of their retreat, in annoying them. No doubt they thought it quite time to quit a position in which so little rest could be found.

I am advised by Maj. Overton, who commands at Fort St. Phillips, in a letter of the 18th, that the enemy having bombarded his fort for 8 or 9 days, from 13 inch mortars, without effect, had, on the morning of that day, retired. I have little doubt that he would have been able to have sunk their vessels, had they attempted to run by.

Giving the proper weight to all these considerations, I believe, you will not think me too sanguine in the belief, that *Louisiana* is now clear of its enemy. I hope, however, I need not assure you, that wherever *I command*, such a belief shall never occasion any relaxation in the measures for resistance. I am but too sensible, that the moment when the enemy is opposing us, is not the most proper to provide for them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON.

P. S. On the 18th, our prisoners on shore were delivered us, an exchange having been previously agreed to. Those who are on board the fleet, will be delivered at Petit Coquille—after which, I shall still have in my hands an excess of several hundred.

20th—Mr. Shields, purser in the navy, has today taken 54 prisoners; among them are four officers. A. J.

Thus ended the expedition of the British army, against the city of New Orleans—thus ended the demonstration of the British naval force, against the forts at the mouth of the Mississippi. The detail of events which took place in this interesting and important section of the Republic, have necessarily been blended with the Memoirs of Gen. Jackson. Indeed, they are identified with each other—he was the *first motion* of every movement.

The deeply interesting scenes through which Gen. Jackson, his army, and the citizens of New Orleans were called to pass from the 16th December, 1814, to the 18th January, 1815, would furnish subjects for a volume far more extended than the *whole* of this little work. In a few pages I have endeavoured to present the reader with the prominent facts connected with these great events. That they were derived from sources indisputably accurate, I have the most confident assurance. A brief recapitulation would be attempted, were it not in my power to furnish the reader with the elegant and impressive address of Gen. Jackson to his troops upon the 21st January, which follows.

ADDRESS,

Directed by Maj. Gen. Jackson, to be read at the head of each of the corps composing the line below New Orleans, Jan. 21, 1815.

Citizens, and fellow soldiers! The enemy has retreated, and your general has now leisure to proclaim to the world what he has noticed with admiration and pride—your undaunted courage, your patriotism, and patience, under hardships and fatigues. Natives of different states, acting together for the first time in this camp; differing in habits and in language, instead of viewing in these circumstances, the germ of distrust and division, you have made them the source of an honourable emulation, and from the seeds of discord itself, have reaped the fruits of an honourable union. This day completes the fourth week, since fifteen hundred of you attacked treble your number of men, who had boasted of their discipline and their services under a celebrated leader, in a long and eventful war—attacked them in their camp, the moment they had profaned the soil of freedom, with their hostile tread, and inflicted a blow which was a prelude to the final result of their attempt to conquer, or their poor contrivances to divide us. A few hours was sufficient to unite the gallant band, though at the moment they received the welcome order to march, they were separated many leagues, in different directions from the city. The gay rapidity of the march, and the cheerful countenances of the officers and men, would have induced a belief that some festive entertainment, not the strife of battle, was the scene to which they hastened with so much eagerness and hilarity. In the conflict that ensued, the same spirit was supported, and my communications, to the executive of the U. States have testified the sense I entertained of the merits of the corps and officers that were engaged. Resting on the field of battle, they retired in perfect order on the next morning to these lines, destined to become the scene of future victories, which they were to share with the rest of you, my brave companions in arms. Scarcely were your lines a protection against musket shot, when on the 28th, a disposition was made to attack them with all the pomp and parade of military tactics, as improved by those veterans of the Spanish war.

Their batteries of heavy cannon kept up an incessant fire; their rockets illuminated the air; and under their cover, two strong columns threatened our flanks. The foe insolently thought that this spectacle was too imposing to be resisted, and in the intoxication of his pride, he already saw our lines abandoned without a contest—how were those menacing appearances met? By shouts of defiance, by a manly countenance, not to be shaken by the roar of his cannon, or by the glare of his firework rockets; by an artillery served with superiour skill, and with deadly effect. Never, my brave friends, can your general forget the testimonials of attachment to our glorious cause, of indignant hatred to our foe, of affectionate confidence in your chief, that resounded from every rank, as he passed along your line. This animating scene damped the courage of the enemy; he dropped his scaling ladders and fascines, and the threatened attack dwindled into a *demonstration*, which served only to shew the emptiness of his parade, and to inspire you with a just confidence in yourselves.

The new year was ushered in with the most tremendous fire his whole artillery could produce : a few hours only, however, were necessary for the brave and skilful men who directed our own, to dismount his cannon, destroy his batteries, and effectually silence his fire. Hitherto, my brave friends, in the contest on our lines, your courage had been passive only ; you stood with calmness, a fire that would have tried the firmness of a veteran, and you anticipated a nearer contest with an eagerness which was soon to be gratified.

On the 8th of Jan. the final effort was made. At the dawn of day the batteries opened, and the columns advanced. Knowing that the volunteers from Tennessee, and the militia from Kentucky, were stationed on your left, it was there they directed their chief attack.

Reasoning always from false principles, they expected little opposition from men, whose officers even were not in uniform, who were ignorant of the rules of dress, and who had never been *caned into discipline*. Fatal mistake ! a fire incessantly kept up, directed with calmness and with unerring aim, strewed the field with the bravest officers and men, of the column which slowly advanced, according to the most approved rules of European tactics, and was cut down by the untutored courage of American militia. Unable to sustain this galling and unceasing fire, some hundreds nearest the intrenchment called for quarter, which was granted—

the rest retreating, were rallied at some distance, but only to make them a surer mark for the grape and canister shot of our artillery, which, without exaggeration, mowed down whole ranks at every discharge: and at length they precipitately retired from the field.

Our right had only a short contest to sustain with a few rash men, who fatally for themselves, forced their entrance into the unfinished redoubt on the river. They were quickly dispossessed, and this glorious day terminated with the loss to the enemy, of their commander in chief and one major-general killed, another major-general wounded the most experienced and bravest of their officers, and more than three thousand men killed, wounded and missing, while our ranks, my friends, were thinned only by the loss of seven of our brave companions killed, and six disabled by wounds—wonderful interposition of heaven! unexampled event in the history of war!

Let us be grateful to the God of battles, who has directed the arrows of indignation against our invaders, while he covered with his protecting shield the brave defenders of their country.

After this unsuccessful and disastrous attempt, their spirits were broken, their force was destroyed, and their whole attention was employed in providing the means of escape. This they have effected; leaving their heavy artillery in our power, and many of their wounded to our clemency. The consequences of this short, but decisive campaign, are incalculably important. The pride of our arrogant enemy humbled, his forces broken, his leaders killed, his insolent hopes of our disunion frustrated—his expectation of rioting in our spoils and wasting our country, changed into ignominious defeat, shameful flight, and a reluctant acknowledgment of the humanity and kindness of those whom he had doomed to all the horrours and humiliation of a conquered state.

On the other side, unanimity established, disaffection crushed, confidence restored, your country saved from conquest, your property from pillage, your wives and daughters from insult and violation—the union preserved from dismemberment, and perhaps, a period put by this decisive stroke, to a bloody and savage war. These, my brave friends, are the consequences of the efforts you have made, and the success with which they have been crowned by heaven.

These important results have been effected by the united courage and perseverance of the army; but which the different corps, as well as the individuals that compose it, have vied with each other in their exertions to produce. The gratitude, the admiration of their country, offers a fairer reward, than that which any praises of the general can bestow, and the best is that of which they can never be deprived, the consciousness of having done their duty, and of meriting the applause they will receive."

The history of modern warfare furnishes innumerable instances of enthusiastic and ardent appeals to the pride and courage of soldiers, before battles were fought, and most extravagant exaggerations of their achievements, after they were won. In the addresses of Gen. Jackson to his troops, before he entered the sanguinary field, nothing is to be discovered but the cool, dignified, and majestic language of a great commander, *prepared* for victory. When he had vanquished his foe, the highest encomium he could bestow upon his officers and soldiers was, that they had answered his *expectations.* In no instance, but one, in the numerous battles he had fought, and conquered, had he occasion to express regret, at the conduct of any portion of his troops ; and in that very instance, he gained one of the greatest victories recorded in modern history—that of the 8th January, 1815. His agitation at loosing the right bank of the Mississippi, for only a few hours, compelled him to say to a section of his little army, that he was *disappointed.*

With Gen. Jackson, victory was never the result of accident or fortune. It was the necessary effect produced by a known cause. Although invariably victorious, it would be a miserable eulogy, to pronounce him a *fortunate* commander. He left nothing to be decided by the capricious " fortune of war," which as often gives glory to a blundering braggadocio, as to an accomplished general. He acted as though he was the guardian, as well as the commander of his soldiers, and as if he was accountable for every limb and life lost by executing his commands. The manner in which he defended New Orleans, evinced the solicitude he felt for the lives of his soldiers; and although he was conscious that it would assuage the sorrow of the surviving friends of slain heroes, to declare that they died covered with glory, yet, in restoring them to the bosoms of their connections, with the laurels of victory upon their living brows, and the ardour of patriotism in their beating hearts, he felt as if he was rendering to his countrymen and to his country, the best account of his battles and his victories.

The astonishing disparity in the losses of the American and British armies, would stagger the belief of the reader, were it not presented to him from most indubitable evidence. From official reports, now in the War Office, it appears that the whole loss of the Americans, before New Orleans, and at the mouth of the Mississippi, was as follows :—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Dec. 23d,	24	115	74	213
Dec. 28th,	7	8	00	15
Jan'y. 1st,	11	23	00	34
Jan'y. 8th,	13*	30	19	62
From 9th to 17th, at Ft.St.Phillips,	2	7	00	9
				333

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*But *seven* were killed in the engagement.

Thus it appears that but 57 were killed—of the 183 wounded, it is not known that any one died; and of the 93 missing, it is not known that but one deserted, and he was hung before the British camp, by order of the commander, immediately after the final victory over him.* Notwithstanding the severity of the season— the excessive labour and fatigue of the troops,—and the want of camp equippage, but few died; so that it may be said of Gen. Jackson, as it was said of an ancient warrior—"*He was twice a conqueror, for he brought home full numbers.*"

The loss of the British, from their own acknowledgment, and from the most correct accounts, must have been from 4500, to 5000. The mention of New Orleans, while it calls up the most grateful and animated recollection of Americans, reminds Englishmen, of one of the most disastrous defeats recorded in the history of their country.

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* This man was the *only* deserter from Gen. Jackson's army. He told Sir Edward, where the *weakest* part of the American lines were, having *nothing* but *Tennessee* and *Kentucky militia*, to defend it. The principal column of the enemy attacked *that* point. After the defeat, they *railed* at the deserter, and *hung* him.

CHAPTER XVII.

Gen. Jackson appoints a day of Thanksgiving and Praise, for the Victories obtained, and for the preservation of the city, upon the 23d January—Doct. Dubourg's address—the general's answer—continues his exertions to render the country more secure—Surrender of Fort Bowyer—Peace proclaimed—Discharge of troops—Gen. Jackson's address to them—Remark

THE attention of the reader is now to be called from scenes of carnage, wounds, death, defeat and victory, to one, the most deeply interesting that can possibly be presented to the view of man. He is to be suddenly transported from those appalling scenes, which, if tears are permitted to soil the purity of heaven, must make the angels weep, to one which must make them rejoice.

Gen. Jackson, his gallant officers, and his troops, although loaded with earthly honours, and greeted with the acclamations of a grateful and protected people, did not omit to render that homage which is due to that Almighty Being, who "*reigns in the armies of heaven above, as well as in the earth beneath.*" A day of thanksgiving and solemn praise was appointed by the general. It was upon the 23d of January. The solemn rites were performed in the Cathedral in New Orleans. To behold a war-worn veteran, like Gen. Jackson, surrounded by his war-worn officers, and troops, prostrated upon the altar of adoration, and offering to the GOD OF BATTLES, that glory which the world had bestowed upon *them*, must have moved the heart of apathy itself. It is totally impossible for one who was not a witness of the scene, to have a conception of its solemn grandeur. The solemn peals of the organ, in unison with vocal praises, sent up to heaven the grateful acknowledgments of a preserved people. "*Grim visag'd war had smooth'd its wrinkled front*"—tears of exquisite joy rolled down the cheeks of soldiers and citizens, and the hearts of all were swollen with gratitude to the King of kings, and Lord of lords. The Republic was safe; a vaunting foe was overthrown, and although the memories of the few who had fallen in the sanguinary field—"*in sad remembrance rose*," it was a subject of inexpressible consolation, that almost all the soldiers who had formed the impregnable rampart upon the plains of the Mississippi, were now assembled in the city, which owed its preservation to their valour, and to the blessing of heaven.

Upon this occasion, the Rev. Doct. Dubourg, the administrator apostolic of the diocese of Louisiana, delivered to the general an address, replete with the pious effusions of the Christian, and the elegancies of the scholar. Although it has long been before the public, I cannot omit to enrich this volume, by inserting a part of it, together with the impressive answer of Gen. Jackson. While they will be read with rapture by the Christian, they cannot fail to excite the admiration of the patriot.

The venerable minister of the gospel thus addressed the Hero of New Orleans, and the gallant officers and soldiers who had followed him to victory, and now joined him in adoration:—"General—While the state of Louisiana, in the joyful transports of her gratitude, hails you as her deliverer, and the assertor of her menaced liberties—while grateful America, so lately wrapped up in anxious suspense, on the fate of this important city, is re-echoing from shore to shore, your splendid achievements, and preparing to inscribe your name on her immortal rolls, among those of her Washingtons—while history, poetry, and the monumental arts, will vie, in consigning to the admiration of the latest posterity, a triumph, perhaps, unparalleled in their records—while thus raised, by universal acclamation, to the very pinnacle of fame, how easy had it been for *you*, General, to forget the Prime Mover of your wonderful successes, and to assume to yourself a praise, which must essentially return to that exalted source, whence every merit is derived. But, better acquainted with the nature of true glory, and justly placing the summit of your ambition, in approving yourself the worthy instrument of heaven's merciful designs, the first impulse of your religious heart, was to acknowledge the interposition of Providence—your first step, a solemn display of your humble sense of His favours. Still agitated at the remembrance of those dreadful agonies, from which we have been so miraculously rescued, it is our pride to acknowledge, that the Almighty has truly had the principal hand in our deliverance, and to follow you, general, in attributing to His infinite goodness, the homage of our unfeigned gratitude. Let the infatuated votary of a blind chance, deride our credulous simplicity; let the cold hearted atheist look for the explanation of important events, to the mere concatenation of human causes: to us, the whole universe is loud in proclaiming a Supreme Ruler, who, as he holds the hearts of man in his hand, holds also the thread of all contingent occurrences.

To Him, therefore, our most fervent thanks are due, for our late unexpected rescue. It is Him we intend to praise, when considering you, general, as the man of his right hand, whom he has taken pains to fit out for the important commission of our defence. We extol that fecundity of genius, by which, under the most discouraging distress, you created unforeseen resources, raised, as it were, from the ground, hosts of intrepid warriors, and provided every vulnerable point with ample means of defence. To Him we trace that instinctive superiority of your mind, which at once rallied around you universal confidence; impressed one irresistible movement to all the jarring elements of which this political machine is composed; aroused their slumbering spirits, and diffused through every rank, the noble ardour which glowed in your bosom. To Him, in fine, we address our acknowledgments for that consummate prudence, which defeated all the combinations of a sagacious enemy, entangled him in the very snares which he had spread for us, and succeeded in effecting his utter destruction, without exposing the lives of our citizens. Immortal thanks be to his Supreme Majesty, for sending us such an instrument of His bountiful designs! A gift of that value; is the best token of the continuance of His protection—the most solid encouragement, to sue for new favours. The first, which it emboldens us humbly to supplicate, as nearest our throbbing hearts, is, that you may long enjoy the honour of your grateful country; of which you will permit us to present you a pledge, in this Wreath of Laurel, the prize of victory, the symbol of immortality. The next, is a speedy and honourable termination of the bloody contest, in which we are engaged. No one has so efficaciously laboured as you, general, for the acceleration of that blissful period: may we soon reap that sweetest fruit of your splendid and uninterrupted victories."

The general thus replied to this solemn and impressive address. His allusion to the "cypress leaf," a symbol of grief and woe, is inimitably fine. Cypress groves were constantly in view of the rival armies, during their sanguinary conflicts, and they will hereafter remind Englishmen of the carnage committed amongst his infatuated countrymen, invading our soil, by the gallant armies of the Republic in defending it.

" Reverend Sir—I receive, with gratitude and pleasure, the symbol crown, which piety has prepared. I receive it, in the name of the brave men who so effectually seconded my exertions—they well deserve the laurels which their country will bestow.

For myself, to have been instrumental in the deliverance of such a country, is the greatest blessing that heaven could confer. That it has been effected with so little loss—that so few *tears* should cloud the *smiles* of our triumph, and not a *cypress leaf* be interwoven in the wreath which you present, is a source of the most exquisite pleasure. I thank you, reverend Sir, most sincerely, for the prayers, which you offer up for my happiness. May those your patriotism dictates for our beloved country, be first heard: and may mine, for your individual prosperity, as well as that of the congregation committed to your care, be favourably received—the prosperity, wealth, and happiness of this city, will then be commensurate with the courage and other qualities of its inhabitants."

Gen. Jackson, although he felt as if Louisiana and its capital were safe, did not remit any of his exertions to render the country still more secure. With the assistance of his beloved associates, Generals Coffee, Carroll, Adair, &c. and the troops under their immediate command, he continued to augment the strength of his lines on each bank of the Mississippi. From his uniform language and conduct at this period, it would appear that he supposed the negociations at Ghent, would not terminate amicably. In one of his letters to Mr. Monroe, the Secretary of War, he says—"In my own mind, there is but little doubt, that his [the British commander's,] last exertions have been made in *this* quarter, at any rate for the *present* season; and by the *next*, I hope we shall be fully prepared for him." In another one he says—"Wherever I command, such a belief, [that the enemy would retire,] shall never occasion any relaxation in the measures of resistance. I am but too sensible that the moment when the enemy is *opposing* us, is not the most proper to *provide* for him."

By the 24th of January, every hostile foot was driven from the soil of Louisiana, and Gen. Lambert and his *army*, were compelled to seek for safety in the *fleet* of Admiral Cochrane, and even that was compelled to keep at a respectful distance from the shores of the Republic.

Before the 8th February, the British forces had positive and certain intelligence, that a treaty of peace between America and Great Britain, had been signed by the commissioners of the two governments at Ghent. They were aware, however, that it was not *binding* until ratifications were exchanged. Anxious to wipe off the indelible disgrace they had incurred at New Orleans, upon the 8th of January, they assailed Fort Bowyer, at the mouth of the Mobile, upon the 8th February, with their whole land and naval forces. The gallant Lawrence was still there; but resistance would have been the sacrifice of his "little phalanx." He surrendered the fort; but one condition was, that the Americans should march out of it "*with colours flying, and drums beating—the officers retaining their swords.*"

The "*commanders in chief of his Britannic majesty's land and naval forces upon the American station,*" are welcome to *all* the *little* glory they claim, for taking this little fort, only to surrender it up again.

Upon the 13th February, Gen. Jackson was advised of the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, by an express from the War Department. The following address to his troops, upon ordering them to be marched home, will always be read with delight.

"The major-general is at length enabled to perform the pleasing task, of restoring to Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, and the territory of the Mississippi, the brave troops who have acted such a distinguished part, in the war which has just terminated. In restoring these brave men to their homes, much exertion is expected of, and great responsibility imposed on, the commanding officers of the different corps. It is required of Maj. Gens. Carroll, and Thomas, and Brig. Gen. Coffee, to march their commands, without unnecessary delay, to their respective states. The troops from the Mississippi Territory and state of Louisiana, both militia and volunteers, will be immediately mustered out of service, paid, and discharged.

The major-general has the satisfaction of announcing the approbation of the President of the United States, to the conduct of the troops under his command, expressed in flattering terms, through the honourable the Secretary of War. In parting with these brave men, whose destinies have been so long united with his own, and in whose labours and glories it is his happiness and his boast to have participated, the commanding general can neither suppress his feelings, nor give utterance to them as he ought. In what terms can he bestow suitable praise on merit so extraordinary, so unparalleled? Let him, in one burst of joy, gratitude, and exultation exclaim—these are the saviours of their country—these the patriot soldiers, who triumphed over the invincibles of Wellington, and conquered the conquerors of Europe!

With what patience did you submit to privations—with what fortitude did you endure fatigue—what valour did you display in the day of battle! you have secured to America a proud name among the nations of the earth—a glory which will never perish. Possessing those dispositions, which equally adorn the citizen, and the soldier, the expectations of your country will be met in peace, as her wishes have been gratified in war. Go, then, my brave companions, to your homes; to those tender connexions, and blissful scenes, which render life so dear—full of honour, and crowned with laurels which will never fade. When participating, in the bosoms of your families, the enjoyment of peaceful life, with what happiness will you not look back to the toils you have borne—to the dangers you have encountered? How will all your past exposures be converted into sources of inexpressible delight? Who, that never experienced your sufferings, will be able to appreciate your joys? The man who slumbered ingloriously at home, during your painful marches, your nights of watchfulness, and your days of toil, will envy you the happiness which these recollections will afford—still more will he envy the gratitude of that country, which you have so eminently contributed to save. Continue, fellow-soldiers, on your passage to your several destinations, to preserve that subordination, that dignified and manly deportment, which have so ennobled your character.

While the commanding general is thus giving indulgence to his feelings, towards those brave companions, who accompanied him through difficulties and danger, he cannot permit the names of Blount, and Shelby, and Holmes, to pass unnoticed. With what generous ardour and patriotism, have these distinguished governours contributed all their exertions, and the success which has resulted, will be to them a reward more grateful, than any which the pomp of title, or the splendour of wealth, can bestow.

What happiness it is to the commanding general, that, while danger was before him, he was, on no occasion, compelled to use towards his companions in arms, either severity or rebuke. If, after the enemy had retired, improper passions began their empire in a few unworthy bosoms, and rendered a resort to energetic measures necessary for their suppression, he has not confounded the innocent with the guilty—the seduced with the seducers. Towards you, fellow-soldiers, the most cheering recollections exist, blended, alas! with regret, that disease and war should have ravished from us, so many worthy companions. But the memory of the *cause* in which they perished, and of the *virtues* which animated them, while living, must occupy the place where *sorrow would claim to dwell.*

Farewell, fellow-soldiers. The expression of your general's thanks is feeble, but the gratitude of a country of freemen is yours—yours the applause of an admiring world."

In this address to the troops, the solicitude of Gen. Jackson, for the reputation of the army, is clearly evinced. Aware that the exultation they felt from the victories they had obtained, and the animation that aroused them to enthusiasm, at the " wreath of laurel" bestowed upon them by their countrymen, might occasion abberrations from the regular walk of sober citizens, he exhorted them not to tarnish in peace, the glory they had acquired in war. The troops thus dismissed by their commander, had to march from five to eight hundred miles, before they reached their homes. The citizens, inhabiting the country through which they passed, so far from treating them with distant coldness, and extorting from them the pittance they had obtained for defending the Republic, (conduct not unknown to *some* parts of America,) received them with unbounded hospitality, and congratulated them as the gallant defenders of American Independence.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Recapitulation of facts relative to Proclamation of Martial Law, writ of *habeas corpus*, *Louaillier*, and Judge *Hall*—Arrest of Gen. Jackson—his defence, conviction, and fine—Trial by jury—Popular feeling—Moderation of Gen. Jackson—he advises to a sacred regard for civil power.

IT will be recollected by the reader, that upon the 16th December, Gen. Jackson proclaimed *martial law* in New Orleans, and in the environs of it. The reasons of that measure, have already been briefly given, and the imperious necessity of adopting it, demonstrated. Next to the efficient measures of defence below the city, the people are indebted to the temporary execution of this system of government, for their salvation from the horrours of British invasion.

That the military power, must be secondary to the civil, is an axiom in our Republic generally assented to. That they are both, on great emergencies, to support the honour, dignity, and independence of the States, is a sentiment no less generally prevalent. It is a principle, that may be said to be coeval with the formation of civil government, that laws are silent in the midst of arms, or as the Romans had it, "*leges silent inter arma.*" These principles are each to have an influence upon the mind, in forming an opinion of the propriety of Gen. Jackson's conduct, in regard to the suppression of the civil authoritiy at New Orleans, and the legislature of Louisiana, at that time in session there.

Nothing but the agitation produced at the approach of imminent danger, upon fearful minds, can furnish the least palliation for the extraordinary course pursued by the city police of New Orleans, and the legislature of Louisiana, during the most portentous period of their history, *i. e.* from the 16th Dec. 1814, to the middle of Feb. 1815. These confident assertions would not be made, were they not susceptible of the clearest proof. The existence of that state of things which led to the declaration of martial law, by Gen. Jackson, has been partly unfolded by presenting the reader in a preceding chapter, with what was deemed appropriate extracts, from the correspondence of Gov. Claiborne with him. This evidence must be completely satisfactory, as it was derived from a distinguished civil officer, who must, with distressing reluctance, have detailed to the world, the melancholy confession of facts so derogatory to the dignity and to the patriotism of the legislature, over whom he presided, and of the city where they were in session. It will never, however, be forgotten, that the police of New Orleans, at this perilous period, was not in accordance with the wishes of a great proportion of its patriotic citizens; nor did the timorous and vascillating policy of the legislature, coincide with the ardent desires, of a great number of its members. A number of them followed the governour from the house of legislation, to the camp of Gen. Jackson, and shewed that they felt more solicitous to preserve their state from the contaminating footsteps of a barbarous enemy, than to remain in conclave, debating upon questions of punctillious etiquette, between the civil and military powers.

It has already been stated, that a majority of the senate and house of representatives, in the state legislature of Louisiana, were opposed to the requisitions which Gov. Claiborne had made upon the Louisiana militia. The patriotism of the militia, however, was not to be damped by a legislative *veto*, and they followed their patriotic governour to the field; and while they were repelling the tremendous assault of the enemy, upon the 28th Dec. with their brave countrymen from Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi, the legislature were actually engaged in debating the question, whether *they* should not surrender the capital and the state, to the British army—and make the best terms they could with Sir Edward Pakenham!! Gen. Jackson ordered Gov. Claiborne, to repair to the city with a requisite number of troops, to preserve it from the danger of their own legislature, while he would defend it from the enemy hangingupon its borders. This order was promptly executed, and the legislature, by their own governour, was prevented from sacrificing the city as a victim to their own fears.

To see a *state* legislature gravely taking measures to negociate with the enemy of the *whole* Republic, evinced almost a complete deterioration of intellect. The commander of the forces, so far as his power extends, is the only representative of the *national* power—he only must be the judge of what will conduce to the safety of the country, *he* commands; and he only is accountable for the measures that may be adopted. If New Orleans had been sacrificed by the commander, in a manner as dastardly as was Detroit, the same disgrace would now have been attached to the name of Jackson, as there is to that of Hull; but by defending it against the power of the enemy; the intrigues of some of its citizens, and the feverish agitation of the legislature, he has placed himself beyond the reach of rivalship, upon the rolls of fame.

Without pursuing this subject farther, the reader is now called to leave the *legislature* of Louisiana, in 1814—15, where facts have left it, and follow Gen. Jackson from the solemn scene of thanksgiving to heaven, and the acclamations of a preserved people for victories obtained, to answer for his *military* conduct before a *judicial* tribunal. To a believer in the doctrine of decrees, it would seem to have been fore-ordained, that Andrew Jackson should be the instrument of procuring the greatest temporal blessings for his country; and that the ingratitude of republics should have made him, in some respects, a signal instance, to show that they are still ungrateful.

Gen. Jackson found himself under the imperious necessity of continuing the execution of martial law, until the enemy had totally abandoned his hostile views against New Orleans and Mobile ; or until the rumours of peace were confirmed by official communications from the War Department. Upon the first circulation of these rumours, the troops evinced the utmost impatience, and a spirit of insubordination pervaded the army before New Orleans. From his knowledge of the innumerable stratagems of the enemy, to gain, by the policy of war, what they dispaired of acquiring by the force of arms, Gen. Jackson was apprehensive that they had devised this report, to lull the soldiers and citizens into a fatal security, and to take the first favourable opportunity that offered, to invade the country, and subject it to British dominion.

A member of the legislature, by the name of *Louaillier*, had published in a New Orleans' Gazette, an article calculated to excite rebellion in the American army, and to encourage the enemy to renew their attack. Gen. Jackson immediately ordered him to be arrested and confined. Mr. *Dominic A. Hall, judge* of the district, immediately issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, directed to Gen. Jackson, commanding him to show reasons for the detention of this *legislator.* The general, knowing that his appearance before his troops, in a time of danger, was of more consequence to his country, than his *appearance* before a judge, who was endeavouring, by the exercise of judicial power, to protect a domestic enemy, immediately ordered Judge Hall to be arrested and sent out of the city. The trial was *postponed* until the country was secured.

In a very few days after this commencement of *war* between the military power of the American Republic, and the judicial authority at New Orleans, *peace* was officially announced to Gen. Jackson, from the War Department, "*between His Britannic Majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, of every degree, without exception of places or persons.*" The joy that filled every heart at the return of peace, was mingled with gratitude to Gen. Jackson, his long tried, brave, and patriotic officers, and gallant soldiers, for their protection in time of war. But amidst this exhilarating scene, the sullen murmurs of disappointed faction, were heard in discordant notes ; and the very men who were indebted to Gen. Jackson and his army, for the preservation of their lives, fortunes and families, seemed to be actuated by the bitterest malice against him.

It was upon the 11th March, that Judge Hall, was removed from New Orleans—upon the 13th, the ratification of the treaty of Ghent, was officially announced there—upon the 19th, military operations were brought to a close between the two armies—and upon the 31st, Gen. Jackson was arrested and brought before the *same Judge Hall,* to answer for his contempt of *the court*, for not answering, *instanter*, to the *habeas corpus*, and for imprisoning *the Judge* who issued it !! From the nature of the subject, and the mode of proceeding, this may be pronounced by the legal profession, to be *causa primæ impressionis*.

Called thus suddenly from the encampment of an army, before a court of law, Gen. Jackson divested himself of the stern character of the soldier, and resumed the more gentle one of the advocate—not to defend a client, as he often had done, against groundless charges ; but to save himself from the vengeance of infuriated malice. The defence he made, has been before the public, ever since he made it. It is a source of regret, that the insertion of it entire, cannot be made. It comprises not only the facts upon which it was grounded, but a profound disquisition upon the civil and military power, in a time of imminent danger. The following selections from it will show the reasons, in addition to those already given, why he proclaimed and enforced marshal law—imprisoned a legislative scribbler—neglected to regard a writ of *habeas corpus*, and compelled the judge who issued it, to leave the city of New Orleans. In this defence, the general says—

" A disciplined, and powerful army was on our coast, commanded by officers of tried valour, and consummate skill ; their fleet had already destroyed the feeble defence, on which, alone, we could rely, to prevent their landing on our shores.

Their point of attack was uncertain—a hundred inlets were to be guarded, by a force not sufficient in number for one ; we had no lines of defence ; treason lurked amongst us, and only waited the moment of expected defeat, to show itself openly.

Our men were few, and of those few, not all were armed ; our utter ruin if we failed, at hand, and inevitable : every thing depended on the prompt and energetic use of the means we possesed, in calling the whole force of the community into action ; it was a contest for the very existence of the state, and every nerve was to be strained in its defence. The physical force of every individual, his moral faculties, his property, and the energy of his example, were to be called into action, and *instant* action. No delay—no hesitation—no inquiry about rights, or all was lost ; and every thing dear to man, his property, life, the honour of his family, his country, its constitution and laws, were swept away by the avowed principles, the open practice of the enemy, with whom we had to contend. Fortifications were to be erected, supplies procured, arms sought for, requisitions made, the emissaries of the enemy watched, lurking treason overawed, insubordination punished, and the contagion of cowardly example to be stopped.

In this crisis, and under a firm persuasion that none of those objects could be effected by the exercise of the *ordinary* powers confided to him—under a solemn conviction that the country committed to his care, could be saved by that measure only, from utter ruin—under a religious belief, that he was performing the most important and sacred duty, the respondent PROCLAIMED MARTIAL LAW. He intended, by that measure, to supersede such civil powers, as in their operation, interfered with those he was obliged to exercise. He thought, in such a moment, constitutional forms must be suspended, for the permanent preservation of constitutional rights, and that there could be no question, whether it were best to depart, for a moment, from the enjoyment of our dearest privileges, or have them wrested from us forever. He knew, that if the civil magistrate were permitted to exercise his usual functions, none of the measures necessary to avert the awful fate that threatened us, could be expected. Personal liberty cannot exist at a time when every man is required to become a soldier. Private property cannot be secured, when its use is indispensable to the public safety.

Unlimited liberty of speech is incompatible with the discipline of a camp ; and that of the press, more dangerous still, when made the vehicle of conveying intelligence to the enemy, or exciting mutiny among the troops. To have suffered the uncontrolled enjoyment of any of those rights, during the time of the late invasion, would have been to abandon the defence of the country. The civil magistrate is the guardian of those rights ; but no further."

In perusing the preceding extract, the reader must feel a pride in reflecting, that Gen. Jackson, and many other officers in the army of the Republic, have acquired the science of Statesmen, as well as the fame of Soldiers.

The general, in his masterly defence, minutely and forcibly assigns the reasons for the course he pursued in regard to *Louaillier*, the writ of *habeas corpus*, and Judge Hall; and proceeds—

"To have silently looked on such an offence, without making any attempt to punish it, would have been a formal surrender of all discipline, all order, all personal dignity, and public safety. This could not be done; and the respondent immediately ordered the arrest of the offender. A writ of *habeas corpus* was directed to issue for his enlargement. The very case which had been foreseen; the very contingency on which martial law was intended to operate, had now occurred. The civil magistrate seemed to think it his duty, to enforce the enjoyment of civil rights, although the consequences which have been described, would probably have resulted. An unbending sense of what he seemed to think his station required, induced him to order the liberation of the prisoner. This, under the respondent's sense of duty, produced a conflict, which it was his wish to avoid.

No other course remained, than to enforce the principles which he had laid down as his guide, and to suspend the exercise of the judicial power, whenever it interfered with the necessary means of defence. The only way effectually to do this, was to place the judge in a situation, in which his interference could not counteract the measures of defence, or give countenance to the mutinous disposition that had shown itself in so alarming a degree. Merely to have disregarded the writ, would have increased the evil, and to have obeyed it, was wholly repugnant to the respondent's ideas of the public safety, and to his own sense of duty. The judge was therefore confined, and removed beyond the lines of defence."

After denying the jurisdiction of the court, and claiming, as a constitutional right, a trial by jury, he thus concludes a defence, which the jurist may read with advantage, and the patriot with admiration.

" *This* was the conduct of the respondent, and *these* the motives which prompted it. They have been fairly and openly exposed, to this tribunal, and to the world, and would not have been accompanied by any exceptions or waiver of jurisdiction, if it had been deemed expedient to give him that species of trial, to which he thinks himself entitled by the constitution of his country.

The powers which the exigency of the times forced him to assume, have been exercised exclusively for the public good ; and, by the blessing of God, they have been attended with unparalleled success. They have saved the country ;

and whatever may be the opinion of that country, or the decrees of its courts, in relation to the means he has used, he can never regret that he employed them."

The trial by jury, however much it may be sneered at, by the possessors and advocates of undefined power, has secured to Englishmen the few rights remaining to them. To Americans, it is secured by our inimitable Constitution; but in the instance before the reader, it was refused to Gen. Jackson, by calling in the aid of the common law of England, to insure the conviction of the respondent for *contempt of court!!* Dominic A. Hall was the judge whose dignity was alledged to be affected by contempt of court—Dominic A. Hall was the man who was said to have sustained an individual injury by the operation of martial law—Dominic A. Hall was the judge who *would have* jurisdiction of the case—who deprived Gen. Jackson of a trial by jury, and who amerced him in a fine of a *thousand dollars!* Half of this sum must have been expended in delays, costs of prosecution, and in the expenses of making defence, and the whole fifteen hundred dollars, was drawn out of the pocket of the man whose indefatigable exertions, consummate wisdom, and gallant courage, had secured to the judge the *privilege* of convicting him.

The records of Judge Jeffery himself, scarcely furnishes a parallel with this proceeding. An English *jury*, saved *Penn* and *Meade*—afterwards the *Dean of St. Asaph*, and in the present reign, *Tooke*, *Hardy*, and *Thelwell*, from the grasp of a vindictive ministry, and subservient judiciary; and had Gen. Jackson been arraigned before an impartial and an independent Jury of Americans, allowed to consider his *whole* case, with what readiness would they have pronounced a verdict of "not guilty," and changed the indignant murmurs of the audience at his conviction, into joyous acclamations at his acquittal.

Gen. Jackson immediately satisfied the judgment, and retired from the court to his carriage. The throng that surrounded the hall of justice, *could not* repress their feelings. The horses were unharnessed—the carriage elevated upon their shoulders, and the Hero of New Orleans, was, in this manner, borne through the streets to his lodgings, by its protected and secured citizens. Flattering as was this demonstration of respect and admiration for *him*, the *general* was apprehensive that it was evincive of some disrespect for *civil power*, and addressed them, in the most pathetic manner. This address is before the writer; but its length forbids its insertion. He acknowledged the civility of the people, not with the studied formality of fashionable etiquette, but with the impassioned eloquence of the heart. He exhorted the people whom he loved, and who almost adored him, not to suffer the ebullitions of passion, to make them forget the respect due to civil authority. They offered to pay the amount of the fine inflicted upon him, but he declined receiving it; and retired to his lodgings with the unassumed dignity of conscious integrity.

It is with pride, mingled with veneration, that the writer is enabled thus to furnish the reader with conclusive evidence, of the dignified moderation of a conqueror, who conqered, not to aggrandize himself, but to render secure that independence acquired by his countrymen. Although by *military power*, he had saved an important section of the Republic, and secured the enjoyment of *civil power*, he was conscious that the *first* was, and must be, in a free government, superiour to the *last*; and if, by a civil or judicial functionary, he had sustained what his countrymen deemed an injury, he was conscious that it was far preferable to suffer himself, and to have errors of judgment overlooked, than to have the civil institutions of his country disregarded.

CHAPTER XIX.

Gen. Jackson retires from New Orleans—arrives at Nashville, his place of residence—Reflection—He receives a message to repair to the seat of government, to assist in arranging the Peace Establishment of the U. S. army—Difficulty of that duty—Votes of thanks &c. to Gen. Jackson—He repairs to the seat of government—Civilities received upon his passage, and on his arrival—Returns to his head-quarters at Nashville, and in 1816, repairs to New Orleans, and arranges the army.

GEN. JACKSON, having preserved the military district assigned to his command, from invasion—having defended it against a force which the enemy supposed irresistible, and his countrymen alarmingly formidable—having restored his gallant army to the fire-sides rendered safe by their valour—having submitted to the adjudication of a civil tribunal, and complied with its decision, he had an opportunity to enjoy that repose to which he had long been a stranger, and which was now rendered secure from the disturbance of savage and civilized foes. He beheld an immense portion of the Republic, which was recently in danger of subjugation, by a power whose ambition is as boundless as its cupidity, enjoying in security, the blessings of the American Constitution.

It is utterly impossible to describe by language, the emotions of the heart upon this occasion—description lags far behind reality, and its power is impotency itself. Surrounded by a recently alarmed, and now a secured people, whose hearts were swollen with gratitude, and whose eyes were swimming in tears of joy, he stood amidst the citizens of New Orleans, like a father in the midst of a family, who owed their temporal felicity to his assiduous labours. The females of the city, who owed their lives, and what was dearer, their honour, to his courage, in impressive silence, evinced their gratitude to their "Patron and Friend."

> "A *glance* sends volumes to the heart,
> "While *words* impassion'd die."

Gen. Jackson had a family eight hundred miles distant, from which he had long been separated, and to which he was impelled, by the most affectionate attachment, to return. He left New Orleans, with the blessings of its citizens for his wisdom and courage in defending them, and with their prayers for his happiness. In the long distance of country through which he passed to his residence at Nashville, he was every where received by the people, with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect; and greeted as the great instrument in the hands of heaven, of preserving their country from British outrage, and British dominion. It was the only reward *they* could bestow, and the most grateful one *he* could receive. In every heart, a monument was erected to his glory upon the foundation of gratitude, which will never be shaken; but which will be transmitted from the bosom of the sire to the son, through all the distant ages of posterity.

He arrived at Nashville upon the 15th May, 1815. Twenty-seven years before, he arrived here at the age of twenty-four years, an insulated being, relying solely upon his own exertions and the smiles of heaven, for his establishment in life. He rapidly advanced in fame, as the country with rapidity, advanced to civilization—he literally "grew with the growth, and strengthened with the strength" of the people of Tennessee. He had gone hand in hand with his fellow citizens, in protecting the *territory* and the *state*, from the barbarous carnage of savages, and securing the rude cottage of the early settler from conflagration, and his family from massacre. He had seen an expanded wilderness, where the majestic silence of nature was broken only by the howling of beasts, the yells of savages, and the tumbling of waters, converted into a region of civilization, where the *arts*, so conducive to the happiness of man, and the *sciences*, which enlarges his veiws, were practised and taught. He had seen, in the space of a quarter of a century, a new people arise in a new country, to an elevation equal to that of many portions of the globe, which have enjoyed the inestimable blessings of civilization for many centuries. He had seen a constitution established to secure the rights of the people—courts instituted to administer justice, and three universities founded to diffuse the lights of science. He had sustained many important offices in the state, and had represented it in both branches of the national government, and had laboured to render the civil, religious, and political rights of the people secure. To protect these enjoyments, he had, at the call of his fellow-citizens, led them into the heart of a country of savages, and conquered them into peace. He also had led them into the face of the most formidable and best disciplined army, that ever assailed the American Republic, and compelled those of them who were not left to moulder in the soil they invaded, to flee from destruction. At Nashville, he found himself surrounded by his grateful fellow-citizens, in the enjoyment of peace and happiness; and by his accomplished officers and gallant soldiers who had, by their courage, rendered them secure. Terrestrial regions could not afford a scene more impressively interesting. In Gen. Jackson, the people recognized a Statesman, whose laborious and scientific exertions had conduced greatly to the security of their political rights; and a Soldier, whose valour had defended them from violation. In the people who now surrounded him, the general recognized virtuous and industrious citizens, and faithful and gallant soldiers.

Gen. Jackson had received a message, some time previous to his arrival at Nashville, to repair to the seat of government. to render that assistance which his knowledge and experience enabled him to afford, in organizing a peace establishment in the army of the Republic. Indispensable duties, in the district under his command, rendered a compliance impossible.

The task which devolved upon the War, and the other Departments of the government, in disbanding an army, which, in the *last* campaign of the war, had every where covered itself with glory, was important and delicate in the extreme. To the *private soldier*, whose toils had been severe, whose privations had been hard, and whose reward at the conclusion of the war was ample, to be restored to private life, was a gratification. But to *officers*, from the highest to the lowest grade, who entered the service, more for the acquisition of fame than fortune—who had left promising prospects in private life, to defend their endangered country—for such men to be dismissed from the service, with which they had become familiar, and be compelled to return again to the dull pursuits of civil life, which has but few charms for the soldier, was a difficult, although a necessary duty.

The American Republic *is not* a military government—and an overgrown standing army in a time of peace, *cannot* be maintained.

From the immense extent of the country—from the number of its forts on the sea-board, and frontier, a small standing force is necessary, and a small one only, in a time of peace, will be endured by the people. Conversant with the history of ancient and modern military governments, the American people are jealous of military power. A necessary military force will always be supported—a supernumerary army, will always be considered and opposed, as dangerous. At the conclusion of the second war between the American Republic, and the kingdom of Great Britain, the government decided that *ten thousand* troops, properly proportioned, as to officers and soldiers, should constitute the *peace establishment*—probably the smallest standing army, considering the extent, population, and importance of the country, in any nation in the world. Many officers, who would have adorned *any* army, *must* have been dismissed by the reduction of the *American* army, from the war to the peace establishment.

The whole of the Republic was divided into *two* divisions, or departments—the South, and the North. Maj. Gen. Jackson was appointed commander in chief of the Division of the South. His appointment to this important command, met with the approbation of the country. His ability to command, had been proved by obtaining a series of victories, over the most warlike tribe of savages, and the best disciplined armies in the world, under the most disadvantageous circumstances.

Gen. Jackson, established his head-quarters at Nashville, where he was constantly receiving the most unequivocal evidence of the gratitude of his countrymen. Minute details are incompatible with the limits of this work; otherwise the reader might be furnished with the proceedings of various legislatures, in passing votes of thanks, expressed in the strongest terms of approbation. A vote of thanks, although unaccompanied with any pecuniary favour, is, to a disinterested patriot, the highest reward he can receive. The legislature of Tennessee, were amongst the first to manifest their respect for the character and achievements of Gen. Jackson. They passed a vote of thanks, and presented him with a gold medal. They could not forget his gallant associates, Gen. Coffee, and Carroll, to whom they presented elegant swords.

A British parliament, when it bestows the *title* of a *duke*, also drains the treasury, to purchase a *dukedom* for the *ennobled* subject, and compels the *humble* subjects to refund it, by imposing exorbitant taxes. The American government, although *just* to its *distinguished* citizens and soldiers, cannot be *generous* at the expence of the *whole* of them. Gen. WASHINGTON, in the *first* war between the Republic and Britain, thought nothing of pecuniary reward, nor did Gen. JACKSON in the *second;* but the one could not have been, and the other cannot be, indifferent to the grateful applause of *independent* and *protected* Americans.

Although Gen. Jackson, in early life, felt little solicitude for the accumulation or preservation of wealth, he nevertheless, after he commenced business at Nashville, acquired by industry, and saved by frugality, a fine real estate, delightfully situated upon the bank of the Cumberland river. To this he might have retired, had he left the service, and have enjoyed an elegant independence. He might have surveyed his tenements and fertile fields, and have exclaimed, with exquisite delight, "these were acquired by my labour—these were defended by my valour, and here I can enjoy domestic felicity in safety." But although the Republic was at peace with all the world, it could not dispense with the military services of this great Commander. He was retained in the service, not like a pensioned duke, with a numerous pensioned retinue, to excite the unmeaning admiration of a degraded peasantry, but to perfect a military system for his country. The division assigned to his command, is larger than half of Europe, and requires the most consummate skill in the commander, to place it in a situation to repel future invasions.

Late in the autumn of 1815, Gen. Jackson repaired, for the first time since the declaration of war, to the seat of government. Upon his passage thither, he received that marked attention, which a grateful and an admiring people bestow, upon a distinguished benefactor. Although in time of war, he avoided all parade and ceremonies inconsistent with the imperious demands of duty, yet he could not, at this period, avoid a compliance with the wishes of his countrymen, to mingle with their gallant defenders; nor could he avoid a reciprocation of their civility and hospitality.

At Lynchburgh, in Virginia, a public dinner was given him, at which the philosopher of Monticello, THOMAS JEFFERSON, was present. The veneration that was excited by the presence of the American Statesman, could hardly restrain the enthusiasm produced by the presence of the American Hero. Although far removed from the deeply interesting scenes of Gen. Jackson's military operations, the people of this place and its vicinity, duly appreciated his exalted merit. Toasts have been said to discover the undisguised sentiments of the people; and it is presumed the toast given upon this occasion, in reference to Gen. Jackson, by Mr. Jefferson, will be cordially assented to, by every American—

"HONOUR *and gratitude to the* MAN, *who has* FILLED *the measure of his* COUNTRY'S HONOUR."

Upon this occasion, the general, knowing that the country he had defended was acquired by *negociation*, by the same man who had so essentially aided him in protecting it, gave for a toast—

"JAMES MONROE."

Upon his arrival at Washington, he was received with that dignified affability, and cordial affection, for which the President and the heads of the several departments, are distinguished. No ostentatious parade, better calculated to repress than to elicit the feelings of the heart, was displayed upon the occasion. The civil fathers of the Republic saw before them, a soldier, who had supported in the *field*, the measures they had devised in the *cabinet*. Respecting and respected, they mutually congratulated each other, upon the successful termination of their arduous labours. In surveying the city, the effects of *Vandal* warfare, were visible in the barbarous ravages of a *British* army. He saw the ruins of the Capitol and the President's house, and knew that it was in open violation of the principles of civilized warfare, that it was produced. He must have rejoiced that a Pakenham was prevented from leaving such tracks of desolation in New Orleans, as a Ross had in Washington.

At all the public parties which the general attended at Washington, at Georgetown, and at other places in the vicinity, he shewed, that although in time of war, a soldier must be as a lion to his enemies, he could, in time of peace, be a lamb to his friends—that he could "*smooth the wrinkled front*" of the soldier, and enjoy the "lulling tune of the lute." At the table, he could enjoy the luxuries it afforded, with the elegance of the gentleman—at a levee, or a drawing-room, could reciprocate the civilities he received, and in the ball-room, could, if he chosed, display the refined accomplishments of the courtier. Mrs. Jackson accompanied her husband to Washington; and every where received that distinguished respect, which her own merit, as well as admiration for the general, induced every one to bestow.

But amidst the fascinating blandishments of refined society, and the alluring charms of elegant amusements, he never forgat his duty to his country. More than one half of one of the largest nations in the world, in point of territory, had been assigned to his command. Although the olive branch of peace, waved over his country, where the clarion of war had, for a long time, assailed the ears of his countrymen, he never remitted his exertions to secure, in time of peace, by efficient regulations and necessary establishments, the rights and blessings that had been defended by the sword.

It is inconsistent with the design of these memoirs, to give a minute detail of all the interesting scenes through which Gen. Jackson passed, in his extensive private intercourse with the most exalted, as well as the middling classes of society. A Boswell, might swell the life of a Johnson to three octavos, by telling the world how the "giant of literature" dressed upon particular days—upon what days he drank wine with his friends—cream with his coffee, and enriched his bunns with butter. Gen. Jackson's life is interspersed with incidents more interesting to his countrymen, than such events; and it is presumed they will be more interested in the detail of them.

In the spring of 1816, Gen. Jackson repaired to the great scene of his military operations, New Orleans. It is utterly impossible to give the reader any conception of the rapture of the people, in again seeing in the bosom of the city, the man who had saved it from carnage and destruction—its sons from murder, and its daughters from wanton violation. After the scenes of cordial congratulation were passed, he immediately reviewed the troops—examined minutely into the police of the camp, and finding the troops unhealthy, resolved to have them removed to the Alabama Territory, which was soon after effected.

Although the health and comfort of troops, is a primary object with a commander, yet in addition to this consideration, Gen. Jackson, considered, from former experience, that the most endangered part of the "Division of the South," was that which bordered upon the Spanish provinces of Florida, in which the Alabama and Siminole Indians were embosomed. He was aware that the stationing of American troops upon their borders, would tend to restrain their barbarity; and that they could more promptly be punished when committed. Subsequent events. shewed the wisdom of this measure.

CHAPTER XX.

Gen. Jackson negociates a treaty for extinguishment of Indian titles to land—Issues an order relative to this subject—Receives a silver vase from the Ladies of South Carolina, &c.—Returns to Nashville—Issues an important general order—Prepares to defend his Division—Commencement of Siminole war—Gen Gaines attacks the Siminoles—Gen Jackson addresses the "Tennessee Volunteers"—repairs to Georgia—and enters with his army into Florida—Justification of that measure—he captures St. Marks.

GEN. JACKSON, having discharged the important duty of regulating and stationing the army, in the southern section, of the Division of the South, he entered into negociation with the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Creek Indians. The object of the negociation, was to obtain from them, the absolute relinquishment of all the *claim* they pretended to have to lands, within the limits of the United States, and which had previously been *ceded* by them. This measure evinced, in a signal manner, the moderation of the American government toward the natives. Although the territory had before been obtained, first by conquest, after a sanguinary war, occasioned by the savages themselves, and afterwards by treaty with them, by which they acknowledged their gratitude to the government for permitting them to retain *any* territory, yet, to pacify them completely, for the diminution of their limits, and to extinguish their title, Gen. Jackson, engaged, in behalf of his government, to pay the Creeks $ 10, 000 a year, for ten years; and the Cherokees, $ 10,000 a year for eight years.

Having accomplished this important measure, Gen. Jackson repaired to Huntsville, in the State of Mississippi, and upon the 8th of October, published an order, which was sanctioned by the government, by which all citizens of the United States, were enjoined to abstain from all encroachments upon Indian lands, and ordered such as had, to be removed in a limited number of days. Although this might operate hard upon individuals who had acted under misapprehension, yet it was doing that justice and equity to savages, which the American government has always extended to them; and it rendered still more secure the frontiers of Mississippi, Tennesse, and Georgia.

During this season, Gen. Jackson received a manifestation of respect from the "Ladies of South Carolina," his native state, which must have been peculiarly grateful to his feelings. They presented him, through Col. Haynes, and Maj. Gadsden, with a splendid silver VASE elevated upon a pedestal. The figures attached to it, are emblematical of the country's glory, and of the glory of "THE MAN OF NEW ORLEANS." Upon one side of it, is a striking representation of the great battle, and an inscription, "EIGHTH JANUARY, 1815"—upon the other "PRESENTED BY THE LADIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA, TO

MAJOR-GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON." The gift was worthy of the receiver—worthy of the givers--worthy of the descendants of the patriotic matrons of South Carolina, who, in the gloomy period of the revolution, added lustre to their characters, by exercising a benevolence, as boundless as the wants of their assailed countrymen. The toils, the grief, and the death, of the venerable mother of ANDREW JACKSON, *cannot* be forgotten.*

At about the same time, the general received another present, although less splendid, equally appropriate. A boot manufacturer of Pittsburgh, presented him with an elegant and superb pair of *military boots*. He received them with great affability, and reciprocated the civility with his usual cordiality. The presentation of a pair of *woolen stockings*, to the Emperor Alexander, when at London, suitable for the frigid climate in which he *reigns*, was received with all the *condescension* which the head of the allied sovereigns *could* bestow upon a peasant.

In October, 1816, Gen. Jackson returned to his head-quarters at Nashville, Tenn. It has long been his happiness, when returning to the place of his residence, from the discharge of civil and military duties abroad, to have, in his absence, raised an additional claim to the gratitude and admiration of his fellow citizens. The treaty he had recently made with the Indians, was most peculiarly advantageous to the people of Tennessee, as it diminished, and almost allayed the apprehensions of the people, from all future fears of Indian warfare.

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* Vide Chap. i. Page 31.

Having become perfectly familiarized with the necessary regulation and police of an army, his attention was almost exclusively devoted to the introduction of them, into the *American* army. In the spring of 1817, he issued the following general order, which has been the subject of severe animadversion, from some distinguished officers in the army, and of approbation from others.

DIVISION ORDER.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
H. Q. Division of the South, *Nashville*, April 22, 1817.

The commanding general considers it due to the principles of subordination, which ought, and must exist in an army, to prohibit the disobedience of any order emanating from the Department of War, to officers of this division, who have reported and been assigned to duty, unless coming through him, as the proper organ of communication. The object of this order, is to prevent the recurrence of a circumstance, which removed an important officer from the division, without the knowledge of the commanding general, and indeed, when he supposed that officer, engaged in his official duties, and anticipated hourly the receipt of his official reports, on a subject of great importance to his command; also to prevent the topographical reports from being made public through the medium of the newspapers, as was done in the case alluded to, thereby enabling the enemy to obtain the benefit of all our topographical researches, as soon as the general commanding, who is responsible for the division. Superiour officers, having commands assigned them, are held responsible to the government, for the character and conduct of that command; and it might as well be justified in an officer, senior in command, to give orders to a *guard* on duty, without passing that order through the officer of that guard, as that the Department of War, should countermand the arrangements of commanding generals, without giving their order through the proper channel. To acquiesce in such a course, would be a tame surrender of military rights and etiquette; and at once subvert the established principles of subordination and good order. Obedience to the lawful commands of superiour officers, is constitutionally and morally required: but there is a chain of communication that binds the military compact, which, if broken, opens the door to disobedience and disrespect, and gives loose to the turbulent spirits, who are ever ready to excite mutiny. All physicians, able to perform duty, who are absent on furlough, will forthwith, repair to their respective posts. Commanding officers of regiments and corps, are ordered to report *specially*, all officers absent from duty, on the 30th of June next, and their cause of absence. The army is too small to tolerate idlers, and they will be dismissed the service.

By order of Maj. Gen. Jackson.
(Signed) ROBERT BUTLER.
Adjutant General.

Until the commencement of the last war, the American Republic could hardly be said to have had a *practical* military system. From the conclusion of the war of the revolution, to that period, it had, indeed, a small military force ; but they were scattered, in small sections, through an immense country, and but little of a systematic organization, or of regular subordination, was to be discerned. The collisions that unhappily subsisted in the army, and between the army and the War Department, in the campaigns of 1812, and 1813, evinces the justice of the remark. It required the energy of a MONROE, in the last, and of a JACKSON, BROWN, MACOMB, GAINES, SCOTT, RIPLEY, &c. in the first, to give efficiency and system to the physical power of the country, when called into action. The preceding general order of the Commander in Chief of the Division of the South, is inserted, not for the purpose of discussing its merits. It would be arrogance in the writer to attempt it. That subject more properly belongs to the accomplished officers of the army, than to the unassuming biographer.

Gen. Jackson, with that vigilance which always characterizes a great commander, extended his views through the *whole* of his immensely extensive division; but he was fully aware from whence the greatest, or rather, the most immediate danger was to be apprehended. He was well acquainted with Spanish perfidy, and had once carried the American arms to the capital of their North American possessions, and terrour into the heart of an effeminate, though vindictive minister of the imbecile, though tyrannical Ferdinand VII. The sparing mercy of the American government, was extended to him and to his nation, from the most solemn assurances, that the treaty existing between the American and Spanish governments, should be inviolably kept, and faithfully executed. Without alluding to *other* articles, and other violations, it is sufficient for the present purpose to state, that one article of this treaty provides, that the Spanish government shall wholly restrain the savages within the limits of their possessions in North America, from depredations of every kind upon the citizens of the United States. In the preceding parts of this work, the conduct of *Manrequez*, the then Spanish governour, has been unfolded. Conduct equally flagrant in outrage, was pursued by the Spanish authorities, after the conclusion of peace between America and Great Britain, as was pursued during the last war. So far from restraining the hostile savages from committing depredations upon the territory, and murder upon the persons of American citizens, they were encouraged to the perpetration of these deeds, by the officers and emissaries of Spain.

No thanks are due from Americans to the Spanish authorities of Florida, for the peace which has subsisted, for a considerable period, between the government and people of the American Republic; and the *Choctaw*, *Creek*, *Cherokee*, and *Chickasaw* tribes of Indians: nor will these brave and infatuated sons of the forest, thank them for stimulating them to warfare, against a magnanimous nation, whose prowess, directed by the courage and wisdom of Gen. Jackson, has conquered them into a peace, *advantageous to themselves*—advantageous, because the sacred regard to justice, which is the leading characteristic of the American government, will inviolably regard it. These tribes, from the most correct information, could bring into the field, in 1817, 10,000 warriors: but none of them, except the disaffected, who had, by the seduction of foreign emissaries, joined the *Siminoles*, raised the hatchet against Americans.

The Siminole Indians are not a "*legitimate*" tribe of *native* Americans. They are an association of desperados, who have been banished from other tribes, and who have drawn into their confederacy, many runaway negroes, whose African sullenness, has been aroused to indiscriminate vengeance, by the more frantic fury of the American natives. It was from this desperate clan of outlaws, from civil, and even from savage society, that the Spanish authorities expected to see the American settlements, upon the borders of Florida, devastated. and the settlers slain!

The British government, since the treaty of peace negociated at Ghent, had been more cautious in arming, disciplining, and driving savages into war with Americans, than it had previously been: but two of its subjects, by the names of *Arbuthnot* and *Ambristie*, had long been executing, under the specious pretext of *carrying on merchandize*, the wishes of the enemies of the American Republic. To conceal their depravity, they may have furnished the Siminole Indians with some few articles of clothing: but the principal articles of *their* traffic, were *knives*, *hatchets*, *muskets*, *rifles*, *balls*, and *powder*.

From the year 1814 to 1817, this ferocious clan of American savages, and African negroes, committed many depredations and wanton murders, in the American settlements. Gen. *Edmund P. Gaines*, the next in command to Gen. Jackson in the Division of the South, was stationed in the vicinity of these outrages. In a communication which would grace this, or any other volume, but which is reluctantly omitted, he portrayed the open violences of the savages, and the insidious wickedness of Spanish and British emissaries, in a manner not to be disregarded. He was stationed at Fort Scott:

and had with him but part of the 7th Regiment of U. S. infantry. He however immediately put his forces in motion against them, although wholly incompetent, from deficiency in amount, to cope with the immense host of savages that surrounded him, and his little gallant force. He demanded a surrender of the murderers of American citizens. No answer was given but savage defiance. No compunctions were manifested for the innocent blood that stained them. Gen. Gaines, aware that patient sufferance of injuries from savages, forever increases their ferocity, proceeded against them—crossed the Flint River—dispersed them—destroyed *Fowltown*, and returned to Fort Scott. A numerous horde of desperate warriors, red and black, surrounded the fort, and entirely cut off the communication of the American forces. Appearances indicated a repetition of the tragical scenes of Fort Mimms, in Mississippi. The signal vengeance inflicted upon the Creeks, by Gen. Jackson, and his invincible army, probably occasioned the Siminoles to pause, before they "*cast their lives upon a die.*"

Gen. Gaines had called upon the executive of Georgia, whose state was more immediately endangered than any other, for immediate succour. The miserable system of temporary drafting, had been adopted; and before the troops could be brought to act efficiently, their term of service expired, and the small regular force was the only reliance the frontier settlers had, as a protection from devastation and massacre. A boat with 40 passengers was taken upon Flint River, and every soul on board slain. Universal consternation prevailed ; and Gen. Gaines once more called upon the Georgia forces, 2000 of whom were detailed, and rendezvoused at Hartford, Geo.

Gen. Jackson, as commander in chief, was again called upon, from a sense of duty, to take the field. Again were the "TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS," by their beloved and almost adored general, exhorted to resume the armour of war, in the following address,—"*Volunteers of West Tennessee*—Once more, after a repose of three years, you are summoned to the field. Your country, having again need for your services, has appealed to your patriotism, and you have met it promptly. The cheerfulness with which you have appeared to encounter the hardships and perils of a winter's campaign, affords the highest evidence of what may be expected of you, in the hour of conflict and trial.

The savages on your borders, unwilling to be at peace, have once more raised the tomahawk to shed the blood of our citizens, and already they are assembled in considerable force, to carry their murderous schemes into execution. Not contented with the liberal policy that has from time to time been shewn them ; but yielding themselves victims to foreign seducers, they vainly think to assail and conquer the country that protects them. Stupid mortals! They have forgotten too soon the streams of blood their ill-fated policy heretofore cost them. They have forgotten too, that but a short time since, conquered, and almost destroyed, they were only preserved by the mildness and humanity of that country, which they now oppose. They must now be taught, that however benevolent and humane that country is, she yet has sacred rights to protect, and with impunity, will not permit the butchery of her peaceable and unoffending citizens.

Brave Volunteers—The enemy you are going to contend with, you have heretofore met and fought. You have once done it, and can again conquer them. You go not to fight, but to be victorious; remember then, that the way to prove successful, is not by being inattentive to the first duties of a soldier, but by bearing and executing with cheerfulness, the orders of superiours, and being constantly mindful of the obligations you are under to your country and to yourself. Subordination and attention to discipline, are all-important and indispensable; without them, nothing like system can be preserved, and this being wanted, nothing favourable can result. But in you, every confidence is reposed. Your general will not believe that brave men, who have so promptly come forth at the call of their country; will withhold their assent to regulations which can alone assure them safety and success. Hardships and dangers are incident to war; but brave men will bear them without murmuring or complaining.

Knowing you to be such, no fears are entertained but that every duty imposed on you, will be met with promptness and cheerfulness.

Your general goes before you to open the way, and prepare for your reception. Confiding in your diligence and exertions, he will expect your arrival at your destined point, without unnecessary delay—led by Col. Arthur P. Haynes, an officer in whom he has every confidence. This being effected, he will place himself at your head, and with you share the dangers and hardships of the campaign."

The proud title and unfading laurels which these gallant sons of the Republic had acquired, would not suffer them to remain unmoved at an address from a cheiftain, under whom they had acquired them. With a promptness, that had ever signalized them, they repaired to their rendezvous, and, under the command of Col. Arthur P. Haynes, so often mentioned before, repaired to the point of destination, at Fort Scott.

Gen. Jackson, in January 1818, had repaired to Georgia, and had placed himself at the head of the Georgia militia. Situated in a country which affords but few materials for the subsistence of an army, he actually commenced a march of ten days through a wilderness, with only a *pint of corn* to each man per day! He was also conscious, that a supply could not be *relied* upon at Fort Scott. But he knew the importance of celerity in the movement of an army, and the brilliancy of his achievements had hitherto depended much upon it. At Fort Scott, he formed a junction with the regular forces; and upon the arrival of the Tennessee Volunteers, was prepared to make a sudden termination of the Siminole war.

This tribe had not a solitary claim to compassion, excepting what arises from the consideration, that they were *willing* victims to Spanish and British machinations. Even their principal chief, *Pepiticoxy*, when asked the reason of his hostility against the American Republic, replied—"*The government were always ready to do him justice, and to make peace with him; but that war was a fine manly exercise, in which he wished to practise his young men!!*" Their "foreign seducers," were ever ready to make them victims to their own infatuation. The same *Col. Nicoll* of *proclamation* memory, and the same *Capt. Woodbine*, of no memory, but that of infamy, were found to be sculking among the Siminoles, as they sneaked from Pensacola in the last war, after having exposed the feeble and impotent Manrequez, to the just vengeance of a magnanimous, but insulted government.

By the first week in March, 1818, the measures of Gen. Jackson, were determined upon; and when fixed, Indian hostility, Spanish intrigue, and British perfidy, might as well divorce the sun from the ecliptic, as to divert him from their accomplishment. He had been compelled, in avenging the injuries of his country, to make the brave, infatuated, and misguided Creeks bleed at every pore. Although the Siminoles had less claim to compassion, yet this great commander was aware that they were also misled; but upon *them*, as open agressors, his power was *first* to operate, and *then*, upon their *misleaders*. He was determined to strike at the root of the evil; and, if possible, to remove it.

Minute details might be entered into, and they might gratify minute curiosity; but it is sufficient to say, that Gen. Jackson, marched with his forces through a country, in which the savages had every advantage, from their acquaintance with it, and from its better adaptation to savage, than to civilized warfare. Like the powerful representative of a great people, he determined to punish the guilty wherever found, and to spare the innocent, where innocence was evinced. He passed through that part of the American territory, occupied by the Siminoles; and they either fell, or retired before him and his gallant followers. He reached the borders of Florida, upon 10th March. Knowing that geographical boundaries, were not the boundaries of right and wrong, and determining to penetrate the darkest recesses of guilt, and punish its instigators, he entered the Spanish province of Florida with his forces.

Many of the countrymen of Gen. Jackson, have bestowed a liberal portion of censure upon him, for entering the territory of a power, with an army, with whom the Republic was at peace. While it is admitted, that Spain was *ostensibly* at peace with Americans, it must not be denied that the Spanish authorities in Florida, were *palpably* violating the treaty, by omitting to restrain the savages in their territory, from acts of hostility against them, and by encouraging the savages in committing them. Should it be said that they were unable to restrain them, from their own weakness, and from the superiority of the savages, it may be answered—every nation must perform their own treaty-stipulations, or suffer the consequences of a violation. Is not the plea of weakness, a fallacy, as it regards the Spanish treaty with America? Is it to be said that one of the "Allied Sovereigns" of Europe, cannot restrain a single tribe of Indians from breaking his treaties? A tenth part of the forces he has, for years, maintained in South America, vainly endeavouring to enslave the Patriots, and subject them to Spanish tyranny, the torture, and the Inquisition, might easily have restrained the Siminole Indians from depredations and murders, in the American settlements.

Gen. Jackson had under his command, and of course, under his military protection, all that portion of the Republic which bounds upon the extensive province of Florida. He held himself, in a degree, accountable for every inch of territory, that was invaded, and every limb and life that was lost, by the enemies of his country. He felt his ability to defend his extensive Division; he knew it to be his duty; and was conscious that his country expected it from him. He saw his countrymen murdered upon the frontiers, and the murderers protected by a government which was solemnly pledged to restrain the savages, who had committed them, from *every* act of hostility. It would have been but a pastime for these blood-seeking, desperate Siminoles, to have saturated themselves with the blood of American women and children, and merely to be driven to their homes in the forests of Florida, only to prepare to glut their vengeance by repeated feasts of innocent blood. Are the swamps and ravines of Florida, like the horns of ancient altars, a protection for murderers? Ask the parents of slain innocents, whether *this* is the protection their *government* is pledged to extend to *them*. No matter what might have been the instructions of the government to Gen. Jackson—No matter what may be the opinion of the fastidious civilian upon abstract questions of international law. The Spanish government had palpably violated their treaty with America; and if thirteen years *more*, of negociation were to be spent, the Alabama Territory, the frontiers of Georgia, Tennessee, and Mississippi, will have presented a wide spread scene of desolation, in which the bones of American citizens would be found mingled with the ruins of their habitations. and the devastations of the country.

Gen. Jackson, like an ancient patriot, described by an ancient historian, is "*a man—a high-minded man, who knows his duty, and knowing, dares perform it.*" He might have said, as his great and exalted friend, President Monroe did, when he entered the highest station filled by an human being—"FROM A JUST RESPONSIBILITY I SHALL NEVER SHRINK." He led his army into Florida. The confidence of the wretched Siminoles was converted to despair, and they fled in consternation before the avenger of their inhuman murders. He penetrated into the interiour of Florida, and captured *Fort St. Marks*, the dark scene of Spanish and British machinations, and the *primum mobile* of Indian carnage, and massacre. The Spanish authorities protested against it. but conscious guilt unnerved their arms, and they dared not defend it by force.

CHAPTER XXI.

Gen. Jackson at Fort St. Marks, Florida—captures and executes Francis the Prophet, and an Indian Chief—at the same place, takes Arbuthnot and Ambristie—details a general court-martial for their trial—approves of the sentence, and orders them to be executed—Remark—Gen. Jackson marches for Pensacola—captures it—appoints Col. King to the command of it, and retires to Nashville, Tenn.

GEN. JACKSON was now, (April 1818,) in possession of the most important post in Florida, (if Pensacola be excepted,)—*Fort St. Marks*. It is situated far in the interiour of that province, upon the river St. Marks; has long been the theatre of the most nefarious designs, and the starting point from which marauders, depredators, and murderers have taken their departure—certain of being welcomed home, when plunder and scalps were brought with them. From this place, Gen. Jackson directed his operations against the Siminoles, yet unsubdued. An important town of their's, by the name of *Suwanney*, thirty miles distant, was taken by a detachment of the army. The savages dispersed or surrendered, in every part of the country, and the war of *defence* against the Siminoles, was suddenly brought to a close.

By hoisting a *British* flag upon the fort, many hostile Indians entered the water-craft in the river, and were captured. Among them, were a ferocious chief, and the prophet Francis, whose murders, committed and instigated, cannot all be mentioned. They suffered the reward of their diabolical wickedness upon the gallows. The rest of the savages were discharged. Francis had recently visited England; and there was found in his possession, a general's commission in the British army.

At the same place were taken the two British subjects before mentioned—*Arbuthnot* and *Ambristie*. The most conclusive evidence was furnished Gen. Jackson, that these men were, and for a long time had been, in open hostility against the Republic. That they had furnished the Siminoles and negroes, with every species of deadly weapons, the better to enable them to carry on war against the Americans. That they had stimulated them to the commission of many of the murders that had been perpetrated by them, upon the defenceless citizens upon the frontiers; and that they had rendered themselves subject to the most rigorous execution of vengeance against them, as violators of the acknowledged principles of the law of nations.

Gen. Jackson, imitating the dignified moderation of the government, whose power he represented, detained them for *trial*, to give them an opportunity to evince their innocence. A general court-martial was detailed, of thirteen members. The President of this court, was Maj. Gen. *Edmund P. Gaines*, one of the most distinguished and accomplished officers in the American, or any other service. The members consisted of officers of high reputation in the regular army, and in the corps of volunteers. Every indulgence, consistent with the dignity of the proceeding, was extended to the arrested men; and every opportunity afforded them to make a full defence. After the most solemn deliberation, the court found them guilty of the articles and specifications exhibited against them, and ordered them to be executed. Gen. Jackson approved of the sentence; and *Arbuthnot* and *Ambristie* atoned with their lives, so far as two guilty lives could atone, for the murder of many innocent and worthy men; many lovely and helpless women—many weeping and beseeching children, which had be en instigated by them, and perpetrated by the most ferocious clan of infuriated desperados that infest the earth.*

These trials, these condemnations, and these executions have excited unmeaning clamour from some, and perhaps, as unmeaning applause from others. The wise advice "first hear, and then judge," seems to have been totally disregarded upon this subject. After the most assiduous endeavours, the writer could not procure the trial of these misguided, and, on the strength of the sentence of a distinguished court, we may say *guilty* men. It is in the department of the government; and will be divulged when the wisdom of the government sees fit. It may be proper, however, to state, that the whole proceedings and the record, have been submitted to an eminent man, who thus speaks of it—"I have been favoured with the perusal, of the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambristie, by a military tribunal, upon the 28th April, 1818. The charges preferred against them, were so completely established, as not to "*leave a loop to hang a doubt*," as to the justice of the sentence. When the *facts* connected with the execution of these men, shall be spread before the world, they will be satisfactory and conformable to the law of nations. When the letters of Arbuthnot to Mr. Bagot, and the governours of the *Bahama*, *Havanna*, &c. are laid before the American people, they will then see the "cloven foot" of British influence, as plain as the noon day's sun." An officer of intelligence and veracity, who attended the whole trial, corroborates this statement; and even a leading Gazette, published in London, as late as 1st July, says—"If Arbuthnot and Ambristie, were really guilty of the crime with which they stood accused, their fate was such as the law of nations warrants."

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* To shew the unparalleled barbarism of the Siminole clan, it need only be mentioned, that in June, 1818, *Bull-Head*, Chief of the lower Siminoles, died; and that, four of his finest plundered horses, and his favourite negro, were burned on the occasion.

Many British prints, however, and what excites rather pity than indignation, many *American* prints, have bestowed upon the administration, and Gen. Jackson, the most opprobrious epithets, for their proceedings in relation to the capture of St. Marks and Pensacola, and the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambristie ! The justice of heaven is often recognized in bringing the *solitary* murderer, to justice ; and although it is ever a solemn scene, human tribunals are justified in inflicting it. Is it, because these miscreants occasioned blood to flow from *hundreds* of bosoms, that they are to be screened from punishment ? They were murderers, in the strictest sense of the word. Britain and Spain, were both at peace with America ; they therefore could not claim the rights of prisoners of war. They lived by the knife, the tomahawk, and the musket, and they justly expiated their crimes upon the gibbet.

The Siminoles, had been conquered ; their power broken ; their warriors dispersed ; and their instigators punished. At the very moment when Gen. Jackson, was about to discharge his army, information was received by him, that many recent murders had been "*committed on the Alabama, by a party of the enemy from Pensacola, where they were furnished with provisions and ammunition by a friendly power !*" *

Governour *Joseph Masot*, had succeeded *Gonzalez Manrequez*, in the gubernatorial authority of Florida ; but although there was a change of *men*, there was no alteration in *measures*. The hostile savages were still fostered, armed, and instigated to war, in the capital of Florida. Gen. Jackson resolved again to "*carry our arms where he found our enemies.*"* Encountering hardships and privations which he and the Tennessee Volunteers, had for years encountered, they moved toward Pensacola. Conscious of having incurred the just vengeance of the American government and army, the governour *remonstrated* against the procedure, in order to lay a foundation for a little *more* negociation with his "adored master;" but Gen. Jackson had no other power of negociating with *Masot*, than he had with *Manrequez*—"*from the mouths of his cannon.*"†

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* Vide Gen. Jackson's address to his army, 29th May, 1818.

He entered *Pensacola* without opposition. The governour, his retinue, and his forces retired to the fortress of *Barancas*, which had been repaired, at immense expence, since the explosion in the last war. It was here, that the American forces expected the most determined opposition, from the superiour advantages that the Spaniards possessed. But "*he is doubly strong who hath his quarrel just*," The garrison held out but one day, and surrendered upon the 28th May. The articles of capitulation are before the public, and are too long to be here inserted.

Upon the 29th May, Gen. Jackson commences his orders—"*Head-Quarters, Division of the South, Pensacola.*"—Speaking of the possession of this place, he says—"*he has not been prompted to this*

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* Vide Chap. xii. † Vide Chap. xi.

measure from a wish to extend the territorial limits of the United States." Alluding to the Spanish treaty, and the Spanish violation of it, he says—"helpless women have been butchered, and the cradle stained with the blood of innocence!" He assigns the command of Pensacola to Col. King, "as military and civil governour," and prepares to retire to his old head-quarters at Nashville. He arrived there, late in June; and was received by a deputation of citizens, among whom was his gallant associate, Gen. Carroll.

From that time to the present, (Nov. 1818,) Gen. Jackson has been assiduously engaged in the important duties devoled upon him, as "COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOUTH."

CONCLUSION.

Incidents of Gen. Jackson's life—his character.

IN concluding these Memoirs, I cannot omit to insert a few incidents of Gen. Jackson's life, which are not yet embraced in them.

When sitting as judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, an atrocious culprit escaped from the custody of the sheriff; seized a loaded musket with a bayonet; placed himself in the angle of two stone walls, and swore he would shoot the first, and bayonet the second man that attempted to take him. The sheriff ordered ten men, as assistants, but they dared not approach him. The sheriff reported the fact to the judge. "Summon 100 men then," said Judge Jackson. It was done; but they also feared to arrest him. Upon a second report—"Summon *me* then," said the judge. It was done. He descended from the bench—approached the culprit with a stern countenance, and dignified firmness—seized the musket with one hand, the culprit with the other, and handed him to the sheriff.

In the most gloomy period of the Creek war, when Gen. Jackson's little army was in imminent danger from the savages, and still more alarmed at the almost certain prospects of famine; when an alarming despondency pervaded the hearts of those brave men, who would face death in its most horrible forms, the general invited a number of his officers to breakfast with him. They repaired to his marquee, and found him sitting, with dignified composure under a wide spreading oak, which had produced an abundant crop of acorns. "Sit down, gentlemen," said the general, "this is MY breakfast, and it is all I have to serve YOU with; but a soldier never despairs. Heaven will bless our cause—will preserve us from famine, and return us home CONQUERORS." The officers returned to their tents with encreasing admiration of their general; adhered to him to the end of the war, and saw his predictions verified.

The troops before New Orleans embraced many of the first young gentlemen, in point of talents, education, family, and fortune, in the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi: and among them were, of course, many of a rougher character. The pleasant raillery, which is the very zest of life, when played off by one gentleman upon another, was unfortunately practised upon a captain of a company, who took it in high dudgeon. In imitation of the names of Indian chiefs, his men called him Capt. *Flat-foot*. He remonstrated against it to Gen. Jackson, who pleasantly remarked—"Really Captain, it is difficult getting along with these gay young fellows; but so long as they toil at the lines with such vigour, and fight the enemy with such courage, we officers must overlook a little innocent levity. Why, Captain, they call me Old Hickory; and if you prefer my title to your's, I will readily make an exchange." The

Captain retired, proud of the title of Capt. *Flatfoot.*

Pages might be filled in relating interesting anecdotes, and incidents of Gen. Jackson, which would clearly show, that although austere dignity is his predominating characteristic, he still possesses the most amiable and benevolent heart. But the work is already extended much beyond the original design of it. One subject, however, must not be omitted; that of *duelling*. That Gen. Jackson has, a number of times, entered the field of *single combat*, is not disputed; but that he ever entered it the *aggressor*, is most unequivocally denied. That he has that susceptibility which is always a concomitant with genius and greatness, is admitted; but that he ever wantonly provoked an honourable man to resort to the sword or pistol for redress, is inadmissible. Gen. Jackson respects his fellow men, according to their merits; and he respects himself according to his own. He is never guilty of insulting with wantonness, and will never be insulted with impunity.

If Gen. Jackson, in repelling and punishing the rude attacks that have been made on his fame and his honour, has resorted to a mode of redress, not sanctioned by the laws of his country, it is a mode which legislatures have hitherto been unable to restrain.

In concluding these memoirs, I attempt with deep solicitude, briefly to portray the exalted character who is the subject of them.

ANDREW JACKSON was born a great man—he was born free. The first dawning of his intellect, elicited the independence of his spirit. As if his youthful blood instinctively glowed with indignation, at the miseries his ancestors had sustained from abused power, the first signal act of his life was performed in resisting it. Intuitively great, he explored the regions of science with the rapidity of thought. Acute in observation, he studied men as he mingled with them. Aspiring in his views, he sought for a capacious field as the scene of his exertions. He entered the stage of life entirely alone. With no extrinsic advantages to raise him into life, he sought no aid out of himself, and he received no aid but what he commanded by his own energy. A theoretical and practical statesman, he led the people of Tennessee, to the adoption of a constitution, to give permanency to their civil rights—A soldier from boy-hood, he led his fellow-citizens to the frontiers, to preserve them from devastation, and the settlers from massacre. Unsatisfied with a minor station, every step he gained in his ascent to the temple of fame, gave him new vigour in ascending still. He became a senator of the American Republic; and to shew the world that *his* greatness, was not derived from his official elevation, he retired to the "post of honour—a private station."

When the olive of peace ceased to wave over the Republic, and the clarion of war assailed the ears of her citizens, his military character suddenly developed itself. Enjoying the tranquil charms of domestic felicity, the soothing suggestions of inactivity urged him to rest. But he was born for his country—his country was endangered—its hopes were fixed upon him, and he espoused its cause.

Devoted to the cause of his country from principle, he scarcely breathed, after subjugating a savage foe, before he thundered defiance to the conquerors of the Old World. Upon the banks of the majestic Mississippi, he soared before his enemies, in sheets of fire—he rendered every defile there, a *Thermopolæ*, and every plain an *Amarathon*.

He is deeply versed in the science of human nature—hence he is rarely deceived in the confidence he reposes in his friends, and knows well how to detect his enemies. The first he loves, and sets the last at defiance. In the discharge of official duties, he imparts dignity to the office, and secures respect to himself—in the circles of private life, he is affable, without descending to low familiarity.

In his person, he is above the ordinary height, elegantly formed, but of very spare habit. But "*toil has strung his nerves, and purified his blood*," and he can bear any fatigue within the power of human endurance. The features of his face have that striking peculiarity, which immediately attracts attention. His large, dark blue eyes, are settled deep under prominent arching eye brows, which he can clothe in frowns to repel an enemy, and dress in smiles to delight his friends—His whole person shows that he was born to command.

In fine, he is loved by his friends—respected by his enemies—the favourite of his country, and the admiration of the world.